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ISMAILI LITERATURE

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

a second amplified edition of
"A Guide to Ismaili Literature", London, 1933

by
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NOTICE

The aim of the "Ismaili Society", founded in Bombay on the 16th February 1946, is the promotion of independent and critical study of all matters connected with Ismailism, that is to say, of all branches of the Ismaili movement in Islam, their literature, history, philosophy, and so forth. The Society entirely excludes from its programme any religious or political propaganda or controversy, and does not intend to vindicate the viewpoint of any particular school in Ismailism. The "Ismaili Society" propose to publish monographs on subjects connected with such studies, critical editions of the original texts of early Ismaili works, their translations, and also collections of shorter papers and notes. Works by various authors are accepted for publication on their merits, i. e. the value of their contribution to the knowledge of Ismailism. It is a consistent policy of the "Ismaili Society" to encourage free exchange of opinions and ideas so long as they are based on serious study of the subject. It may be noted that the fact of publication of any work by the "Ismaili Society" does not by itself imply their concurrence with, or endorsement of, the views and ideas advanced therein.

PREFACE

This book is intended to offer to the student information, as far as is possible in the form of a detailed inventory, of the literary heritage of Ismailism, both of works still in existence or still reliably remembered, and also those works which are forgotten but whose titles may be traced in early literature by careful research. By "Ismailism" may be understood, broadly speaking, the whole group of related currents in the Islamic civilisation of which the highest manifestation was the literature of the Fatimid period of the Xth and XIth centuries.

It would be, however, a grave error to believe that Fatimid Ismaili literature exhausts the whole historical meaning of Ismailism and all its implications. Many essential and important aspects, many implications of the Ismaili movement remained undisclosed in that literature. Fatimid Ismailism is rather to be regarded as the eldest and most highly gifted brother in a whole family whose brilliance dazzled and left in the shadows younger brothers and relatives, deserving, if taken by themselves and separately, interest and careful examination.

In Fatimid Ismaili ltterature there are found sporadic and more or less embryonic attempts at the collection of bibliographical information, as well as a number of most valuable chrestomathies of standard works. However the only real work of bibliographical content in the whole of Ismaili literature is the *Fihrist al-Majdû'*, "The Index of the Mutilated One", as it is popularly called, really the *Majmû' fî Fihristi'l-Kutub*, by the learned Bohora, of somewhat heretical leanings, Ismâ'îl b. 'Abdi'r-Rasûl of Ujjain, who died in 1183-4/1770. His work was designed as a programme for the religious education of a Bohora pupil, beginning with elementary Arabic and "general knowledge". It thus entirely excludes the works of other sects and sub-sects, and even has a serious lacuna as to the most secret, and consequently most interesting, philosophical works which "should not be read without special permission from the Bohora religious authorities". Besides, his book is far from complete, and many treatises exist in private collections which find no place in his *Fihrist*.

Having accidentally come across a copy of this *Fihrist*, I composed the first version of the present work, which with the help of the late Prof. D. S. Margoliouth was published in 1933, under the title of "A Guide to Ismaili Literature", by the Royal Asiatic Society of London as no. XIII in their Prize Publication Fund Series.

As a pioneer work in its own field, this unavoidably contained various shortcomings, which it was hoped to rectify in a second edition. The events of the subsequent unhappy years made this impossible and it is only now that, thirty years later, it has been possible to attain the desired aim, through the generous assistance of the Ismaili Society and with the most valuable co-operation of the University of Tehran.

Of course, this long interval of thirty years has not been wasted. It has offered the opportunity for the continuation of the search for original manuscripts, their examination, the supplementation of the material contained in the *Fihrist*, the checking and correction of the chronology and the introduction of some kind of order into what first appeared as a chaotic heap of haphazard information. There has also been introduced an analytical stratification of Ismaili works which it is hoped may be of some help to students.

The present edition consequently differs in many respects from the original "Guide". In fact, I have only left the notes and lists of titles as they were in the first edition in those cases where I could not find any new or additional information and had still to depend entirely on the *Fihrist*. I have also struck off a number of titles of late Dawudi works which were entirely devoted to the vindication of the supposed "rights" of various individuals to the succession as *dâ'îs* and abuse of the rival party, since these works bear a purely personal character and contribute nothing to our knowledge of Ismailism.

I have to acknowledge my great indebtedness to the Ismaili Society and those Ismaili and other friends who offered their co-operation in the production of this book, especially those who lent to me their copies of the original manuscripts for examination and helped in the clarification of the meaning of various technical terms and obscurities in chronology and historical references.

Teheran, April 1963.

W.Ivanow.

ABBREVIATIONS

b. - ibn
B. - C. Brockelmann, Geschichte d. Arab. Literatur, vol.1,2 Weimar, 1898-1902
BS - The same, Supplementbands I-III, Leiden, 1937-1942
d. - died in
Dr. - Druze work
ed. - editor of the text
F - *Fihrist al-Majdû'*
H. - Hurufi
K., k. - *kitâb*
Kh. - Khoja work
M. - Muḥammad
MT. - *Majmû' at-tarbiyat*
Muntaza' - *Muntaza' al-akhbâr*
P. - in Persian
Q., q., qaṣ. - *qaṣîda, al-qaṣîdat*
R., r., - *Risâla, ar-risâlat*
S. - Sulaymânî
Syr. - Syrian (Ismaili)
T. - Turkish

TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION

The system employed here is that of mechanical substitution for the letters of the Arabic alphabet, and the signs of vocalization, of their corresponding signs in the English alphabet. It is *not* intended to give the pronunciation of the names or titles of books as they are pronounced in the different parts of the Muhammadan world. Exception is only made in the case of the Arabic definitive article *al-* in the combinations with sounds causing assimilation, which though not expressed in writing, is universal and obligatory for the Arabic language as a whole. Therefore, instead for instance of 'Abd al Raḥīm, there is written here 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm.

The different ways of expressing the long *ā* in Arabic orthography, i.e. those with the help of the *alif*, *wāw*, or the *yāy*, are disregarded here.

ا a, i, u, آ ā, ب b, پ p, ت t, ث th, ج j, چ ch, ح h, خ kh, د d, ذ dh, ر r, ڑ ṛ, ز z, س s, ش sh, ص ṣ, ض ḍ, ط ṭ, ظ ẓ, ع ', غ gh, ف f, ق q, ل k, گ g, ل l, م m, ن n, و w, ū, ه h, ی y, ī, Hamza ء ' (the same as the apostrophe).

ERRATA

Page	Line from top	Wrong:	Correct:
8	25	rovolt	revolt
15	22	arccording	according
28	28	*al-Yanabi'*	*al-Yanâbi'*
30	1	*al-Radd*	*ar-Radd*
61	top	Nos. 213	No. 213
61	top	N. Yamanitic	N. Yamanite
72	32	*Jalâ'*	*Jilâ'*
77	11	*al-Ibâná*	*al-Ibâna*
82	1	strike one "*'alâ*"	
87	6	224	214
93	13	*al-mudiḥat*	*al-mûdiḥat*
94	9	*fî stirat*	*fî's-stirat*
97	13	*jalâ'*	*jilâ'*
100	4	*istîdâ'*	*istîdâ'*
103	18	*-tarîf*	*-ta'rîf*
103	21	*'Idḥâdu*	*Idḥâdu*
103	22	*Iqd*	*'Iqd*
118	23	*Kutâmâ*	*Kutâma*
123	27	626	676
128	32	an his	and his
166	top	No. 770	No. 773

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INTRODUCTION

1. *General Remarks*

There are several important matters — rather truisms — which should be always taken into consideration by any student of Ismailism, or, generally, any one who has to refer to the Ismaili literature. The most important is the fact that the Ismaili literature was a literature of a highly specialised contents, namely, a *religious* literature. As every religious literature it was not a literature *about* Ismailism, describing it as it actually was. Its purpose was to *teach* the followers of Ismailism, to guide them to the true and correct version of what was officially accepted as the standard, and warn them against wrong judgment and straying into error. The authors of the individual works of which it was composed certainly had their individual peculiarities in the treatment of the subjects with which they dealt; but the process of selection which took several hundred years during which the Ismaili literature was developing, undoubtedly helped to bring it, so to speak, to a certain level which has become essentially typical of it. One has always to keep in mind that the authors were always speaking about what Ismailism, generally, or any of its component dogmas in particular, to the best of their understanding, *should be*, — not what it was originally, or how it was commonly understood in the community at that time. The idea of evolution, mutation, reform, was always abhorrent to religious mind. However absurdly, religious authors always obstinately insisted on the principle that the religion revealed by God and His Apostle should remain eternally unchangeable.

The other important point is to realise the fact that despite certain temporary "fashions" for esoterism, the Ismaili doctrine, and the literature which summed it up, always remained faithful to the principle that plain religion invariably over-rides all esoteric speculations. It is the latter which had to give way, when clashing, and on no occasion the former. The *ẓâhir* and the *bâṭin* (both substantives, not adjectives) are inseparable,—

there is no *ẓâhir* without a corresponding *bâṭin*, and vice versa. "Philosophy", that is to say, theosophy, which forms the main contents of the Ismaili literature during the most brilliant period of its history, the Fatimid, always had the character of superstructure. The original, solid edifice of the system always remained the ordinary Shi'ite Islam, the difference solely being constituted by the way in which it was interpreted.

The *ḥaqâ'iq*, that is to say the esoteric doctrine, presents little of what is really novel. There is nothing in it which would show the traces of an independent and original philosophical thinking, or even independent borrowing from Greek learning. Perhaps the only such instance would be the borrowing of the Patrist idea of the *perigraphê*, translated by the Arabic *ḥadd* (Plur. *ḥudûd*). The rest is adaptation of the *ḥikma*, already sufficiently popularised by the time Ismailism comes on the stage, beginning to develop its own literature. It contains no outrageously heretical theories. The same theories of Hellenistic wisdom were studied in orthodox circles, and officially patronised by the Abbasids. The only difference, — though a very substantial difference, — consisted in the fact that orthodox circles treated them from a purely utilitarian standpoint and strictly kept what may be called "speculative theosophy" apart from religious doctrine in the narrower sense of the term. On the contrary, the Ismailis to a great extent incorporated it into their doctrine, although introducing precautionary restrictions against its being taught to the insufficiently prepared adepts.

As they say, such incorporation of the learned theosophic theories was made consciously, *bona fide*, for the purpose of deepening the doctrine of Islam, not to "blow it from the inside", as alleged by their enemies. This intended to prove to sophisticated circles the intrinsic wisdom of the Divine Revelation, and its being consistent with the philosophy and science of the time,— the idea which proved to be very attractive to many strata of the world of Islam.

Deliberate perversion of facts by anti-Ismaili authors usually tries to present Ismailis as some kind of "crystalls" of pure and absolute hereticism. But in reality the Ismailis were ordinary Persians, Arabs, Indians, as the case may be. They lived in their

minute communities scattered amongst the religious majorities in various provinces, trying to be outwardly undistinguishable from them and, in fact, completely sharing the culture and practical interests of the place and time in which they lived, as apart from the "higher" aims in policy and ideology which their leaders in Cairo evolved. The "Ismaili cells" scattered all over various provinces of the Abbaside empire of Islam, apparently never formed compact accumulations, even in Egypt itself during the most flourishing periods of the Fatimid state, to play a cognisable part in the moulding of the trend of events.

Moreover, constituting a persecuted minority, they had to live under the shield of the *taqiyya*, "precautionary dissembling", to be undistinguishable from their orthodox neighbours. It may even now be taken as a rule that various sectarians, and especially Ismaili authors, usually are remarkably well educated in the religious rules and observances of the orthodox. Apparently without exception, the authors of the works which form the Ismaili literature appear to be real experts in such matters as ordinary Islamic prayers with all their complex details, orthodox *fiqh* (jurisprudence), and especially tradition and exegesis of the Coran. At least thirty per cent of all that constitutes the Ismaili literature deals in detail with such subjects.

It is therefore really astonishing how these people, always living under the continuous threat of brutal attack from the hostile fanatics, and continuous pressure of the orthodox ideas, could preserve their sectarian consciousness and individuality. This is true as regards the common member of the sect. But still more surprising is that quite a great proportion, if not its major part, of the Ismaili literature was the work of the authors who received their education in non-Ismaili schools. The Ismaili "cells" were too small and financially weak to afford their own higher *madrasas*, and, according to the practice which apparently continued in the whole course of the existence of Ismailism, till our own time, sent their talented boys to study in the higher Sunni or Shi'ite theological schools. A long list of famous names in Ismailism may be drawn, beginning with Ibn Ḥawshab (Manṣûru'l-Yaman), who was originally an Ithna-'ashari.

For this reason it is understandable that the Ismaili literature shows so many features in common with the spirit and outlook of the literatures of their persecutors. As a precautionary measure the Ismailis imposed a strict taboo on showing their literature to any non-Ismaili. It is a great sin, punishable by excommunication, that is to say, one of the most vexatious forms of social boycott. The Ismaili literature has become barred from the possibility of being read and dispassionately criticised. On the other hand, their orthodox opponents, who on many occasions could have had an opportunity to examine it, were not interested in paying attention to what was akin to their own teachings. On the contrary, they picked up and grossly perverted everything to vindicate their wild allegations. The Ismailis themselves took the trouble to emphasise in their polemical works the common ground which eminently exists between the two schools. But their books no one could read except for the Ismailis themselves, who surely needed no argument on such matters.

From what has been said above it may be clear that the student who turns his attention to the Ismaili literature in a hope to unravel some "mysteries", may simply waste his time. The history of Ismailism has bequeathed to us many mysteries to which we shall hardly ever find proper keys. But these mysteries are of a different nature, not of a dogmatic kind. It is the question of the organisation, the technique of their propaganda system, its spread in the world of Islam, its real political, social and economic programme, its relation to popular and social movements, its attitude to the agrararian problems, and so forth. We do not know whether such matters have been discussed in writing, apart, most probably, from highly confidential service correspondence. If only we could know these, and not the hollow esoteric speculations, would we be able to understand correctly the essence of Ismailism and its place in the evolution of Islam.

2. *Stratification of the Ismaili Literature.*

It may be asked: what should we call "the Ismaili Literature"? In the course of its 1200 years long history the movement became subdivided into a series of separate developments, none preserving uninterrupted continuity in its evolution, and therefore eligible for the part of the "orthodox" or standard school. The story of Ismailism is composed of "phases", some running parallel to others, and some developing in sequence, directly or after a certain "leap". It is something like the metamorphoses of the egg, caterpillar, chrysalis, butterfly,—the substance and individuality intrinsically the same, but forms markedly different. But taken as a complex of interconnected phenomena it may to a great extent permit us to grasp the nature of this ideology as a whole by supplementing what is incomplete in one "phase" by observation of an analogous development in another. Thus the only way is to choose as an object of study the whole group of cognate phenomena in its entirety.

Now the question arises as to what we should regard as a "cognate" development, as far as Ismailism is concerned? What may be suggested is to regard as belonging to Ismailism all sectarian developments in Shi'ite Islam whose doctrine is built around what we may conventionally designate by a term, borrowed from organic chemistry, "the Ismaili radical". This is the indissolluble combination of five dogmatic principles which, as what is called "radical" in chemistry, form a "unit", which may be itself combined with other ideas and their complexes, but always inseparably, as if forming an "irresolvable element".

It consists of: strict monotheism, belief in periodical Apostolic missions of great prophets, Imamat as a further development of the preceding, *da'wat* or missionary function of the Imam, and *ta'wîl*, or revelation of the inner implications of the scripture and forms of worship. All these form the basic and essential, indispensable structure of the "radical". In practical life it is quite possible to observe various deviations from such ideal structure. Some ingredients may be fading, and some abnormally overdeveloped,—this is what may be designated as occasional or heretical tendencies, especially in a backward milieu.

It is by no means easy to devise a satisfactory principle for the classification of the "phases" in the development of Ismailism, as mentioned above. Neither chronology, nor any considerations of the ethnic or social factors are sufficient. Evolution, as we have seen, never had continuity. The only way which remains is to follow a combination of all these principles, dividing the followers of Ismailism into two main groups, the Fatimid and the Nizari branches, with their derivates, direct or secondary, each group still further sub-divided into its minor components. What is tentatively offered below is merely a rough scheme which, though imperfect, will be, nevertheless, better than no system at all.

1. *The Initial Phase of the Ismaili Literature.* — It is very doubtful whether the original milieu from which Ismailism sprang, had produced any literature. Religious tradition mentions a series of the apocrypha, beginning with the poetry and sermons composed by *Mawlâ-nâ* 'Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib, and alleged works of early Imams or their associates. Probably the earliest genuine works, which, most unfortunately, have been lost in antiquity, were those which are attributed to Sayyid-nâ 'Abdân, the *dâ'î* of Mesopotamia, who resided in Kalwâdhâ, near Baghdad, and was killed in 286/899. The Ismaili movement was at the time known under the name of Qarmatianism, after Ḥamdân Qarmaṭ, the leader. The term *Qarmaṭî, Qarâmiṭa*, according to Ṭabarî's testimony, "appeared first in 276/889" (which does not mean that the sect did not exist itself long before a new name was given to it). It is quite possible that after the reformation which (in 280/893) introduced the dogma of the eternally continuing line of the Imams, the early literature, orientated on the Wâqifa ideas and ardent Messianic beliefs, gradually passed out of use.

2. *The Early Yamanite School.* — There are many traces of the close contact of the early community in the Yaman with the Qarmatians. In fact, if it is true that Ibn Ḥawshab, who later on became known as Manṣûru'l-Yaman, was really sent on his mission in 266/879, that is to say, long before the reform, he most probably preached Qarmatianism. Although so far no

historical documents have come to light which would supply information about the transition from Qarmatianism to the Fatimid brand of Ismailism in the Yaman, it appears that the Qarmatian phase has left an indelible mark on Yamanite Ismailism. The latter for long preserved characteristic peculiarities in its terminology and the spirit or trend of the works produced there, with its leaning towards mysticism. During the Fatimid period the Yaman probably produced very little in the way of literature. This apparently later on was all ascribed to the ingenuity of Ja'far b. Manṣûri'l-Yaman (that is to say, a descendant, probably grandson, of Ibn Ḥawshab) who flourished towards the end of the iv/x c. Yamanite books in this style cease to appear during the classic Fatimid period, but re-appear in the sixth/twelfth c., after the collapse of Cairo in its role of the headquarters of the Ismaili movement, in what we may call the "Neo-Yamanite phase".

3. *The Fatimid Period.*— Although its beginning produced an eminent "classic" in the person of Qâḍî Nu'mân, of Arab extraction, it is possible to argue that almost the whole brilliance of the period was due to the authors originating from Persia and Central Asia. The period came to an abrupt end when on the death of the Imam al-Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh (487/1094) the rightful successor, Prince Nizâr, was dethroned, and the whole of the East of the Ismaili world rejected the claims of the usurpers.

4. *The Neo-Yamanite and Indian Phase.*— The murder of the caliph al-Âmir (524/1130) caused panic in Cairo, and even the shrunken remnants of the *da'wat* organisation which remained since al-Mustanṣir's time ceased to function. In the panic Cairo was soon de-Ismailised,— all those who followed Ismailism rushed to join orthodoxy. Those few who either remained faithful to Ismailism, or were so much "compromised" that they could not give themselves for orthodox Sunnis, had to emigrate to the backward feudalising Yaman where tribal barons often pretended to religious standing in the *da'wat*. The talk of the Fatimid administrative apparatus being moved to the Yaman is nothing but idle fiction. It is quite possible that apart from some genuine

Ismailis there was a number of now unemployed Cairo clerks who went to the Yaman in search of employment under locaal sheykhs, and compiled religious works for them.

Anyhow, a new type of the Ismaili literature gradually comes into being. With rare exceptions it was of an epitomizing nature, compilation of commentaries (in the form of what was called *"masâ'il"*, — questions and answers), and chrestomathies, some of great value for the student, because they included extracts or whole works belonging to the prceeding, Fatimid period. Very soon, however, originality and the general quality of this literature began to fade out, and, with the rarest exceptions, this literature since the viii/xiv c. and till now, degenerated due to the wranglings and squabbles of the different parties in the priestly clique, usually in connection with frauds in the succession of *dâ'îs* (bishops). And so it gœs on now. Nothing but inflated bombastic praises of sayyid-nâ so-and-so, in charge of the communal funds, or scurrilous abuse of his opponents, is produced.

5. *The Druze Literature*.— What may be called the short-lived Druze episode in the Fatimid history, is a phenomenon of the greatest interest for the student. Coming just in the opening years of the fifth/eleventh c., when the Fatimid theosophy and literature have reached the zenith in their development, it perhaps could have been explained as an expression of reaction, a protest of the less sophisticated and backward strata, rising in revolt against the "unintelligible speculations" of the learned folks. But such theory would be thoroughly erroneous. The promoters of the movement, Ḥamza, Mujtabâ, Muqtanâ, etc., were not the leaders thrown up by the crowd. Not only were they well educated people for their time, but they strived as much as possible to imitate the best productions of the Fatimid literature. More than a half (at least) of what forms the Druze literature which is preserved shows no originality, is bombastic and hollow, and does not reveal any tendency to use simple language intelligible to the backward milieu which finally adopted the religion. It seems that the "crowd" not only did not mind sophisticated and abstruse speculations, but that the latter exercised great appeal to it. What apparently was the secret of their success is

that the promoters of the Druze movement touched on the deep seated "underground" springs of the popular religious mentality which the Fatimids neglected, but which displays remarkable vitality, namely, belief into Man-God. Abû'l-Khaṭṭâb, executed in Kûfa in 145/762, the Druzes, deifying al-Ḥâkim, late Nizaris, Ahl-i Ḥaqq of Kurdistan, and many others, are links in one chain stretched through centnries.

6. *The Nizari Phase*.— The Nizari-Musta'lian split was the catastrophe from which Ismailism has never recovered. While the followers of Musta'lian persuasion found refuge in the Yaman, and thence shifted to India, the rest of the Ismaili world, rejecting the usurpers, remained stunned for over seventy years before the first Nizari works began to appear. It was again the same story. At the proclamation of the Great *Qiyâmat* the Imam Jalâlu'd-dîn Ḥasan *'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm* addressed the crowd of his devout followers, pure Persians, speaking in Arabic, which was translated by a special interpreter into Persian. But what he was saying had remarkable affinity with what was, under the veil of great secrecy, discussed and taught in the remote Yaman by the authors of *al-kutub al-kibâr* by the Yamanite *dâ'îs*. Thus despite absolute rupture, and thousands of miles of distance, again in the most sophisticated form, the same ancient speculations about the Deity revealing itself in human form, were preached. The tragic events of the further history of the Nizari branch prevented it from creating a substantial literature, although talent was not lacking. What is realy noteworthy is that the Ismaili literature produced in Persia *in Persian*, Nizari and even late pre-Nizari, shows absoulute absence of contact between the Fatimid literature and their own. It is impossible to believe that books of the Fatimid literature never penetrated Persia. And yet even in the works of Nâṣir-i Khusraw, who himself entirely belongs to the Fatimid time, not a single Arabic Ismaili work is referred to or quoted. Similarly, the Nizari literature developed as if from scratch, as if no Ismaili literature existed before it, while at the same time some invisible ties continued to exist in the popular mentality in "underground" conditions.

In addition to all the devastation and carnage which we know from the mediæval history of Ismailism in Persia, another calamity befell it, a split in the family of the Imams. Probably only because the community had shrunk very much by that time, the split did not gather momentum sufficient to cause great ruin to Nizari Ismailism. About the third quarter of the eighth/fourteenth century the house split into two branches:

(a) The elder, *Muḥammad Shâhî* (known in Syria as Ja'farî) which at first found more support, especially in the far outlying localities, Syria and Badakhshan. It produced a line of the Imams which became extinct soon after Shâh Ṭâhir Dakanî who emigrated to India in the beginning of the x/xvi c. This branch lost its following, and at present only about 4000 followers preserve allegiance to this line in Syria, in the districts of Maṣyaf and Qadmûs.

(b) The *Qâsim-Shâhî*, the junior line, which is at present represented by His Highness the Agha Khan, was soon recognized by the overwhelming majority of those local communities which at the begînning followed the Muḥammad-Shâhî line.

Too few works remain from that period, and especially from the Muḥammad-Shâhî branch to permit us to form a clear idea about the difference in the general tendencies of both these branches. So far as one may see, there was no difference of the dogma, although certain signs may be interpreted as indicating a tendency to fall in line with the Ithna-'ashari learning on the part of the Muḥammad-Shâhîs.

7. *The Nizari Literature under the Safawids and later.*— The advent of the Safawids (907/1502) signifies a religious revolution in Persia which greatly affected Ismailism in Iran, the Upper Oxus regions and India. In their fight against Sunnism, and with official support of the Ithna-'ashari doctrine, the Safawids extended patronage to some darwish organisations and certain Shi'ite extremist circles. Popular Ismailism found a place amongst these, thus to some extent securing relief from the rabid persecution. Ismaili pîrs, the term now applied indiscriminately to all higher ranks of former members of the *da'wat* organisation,

received the possibility to live and work without being much molested. But as regards literary work the change brought much ruin. Being accustomed in everyday life to what may resemble "double personality", Ismaili and Sufic, those few who wanted and could create something, usually took the line of the least resistance, and adopted the most slavish imitation of the great Sufic and moralising poets of the Persian literature. Reading the majority of the literary productions of this period, one often finds it very difficult to decide as to what the work perused is,—is it Sufic with strong Ismaili colouring, or an Ismaili work, too enthusiastically camouflaged as Sufic?

The influence of the Western ideas spreading in the East in the XIX-th c., to an extent penetrated even this secluded corner, and the sign of this may be seen in the unprecedented, however meagre, rise of interest towards the early history of Ismailism. Works modelled on Persian historical compilations, and almost entirely based on them, and not on independent Ismaili sources (which did not exist) were occasionally composed.

8. *The Nizari Literature of India.*— The Indian Nizaris, known by the name of Khojas, may perhaps claim a long history. As is known, Ismailism penetrated India, namely Upper Sind, still under the Wâqifa-Qarmatian phase. It is probably then that the earlier and archaic versions of some of their oldest *gnans*, devotional hymns, were composed in Hinduistic style, in *slokas*, and their collection was gradually supplemented with new creations in the same spirit. Compelled to live as Hindus, the converts have retained quite a substantial amount of Hinduistic elements in their outlook and customs. What was their Ismailism like, is impossible to say, but apparently much more effective was the "second wave" of the contact with the Ismailis from the West, namely with the refugees from Persia, fleeing from the horrors of the Mongol rule. The Khoja community's own tradition, in a form much mixed with miracles and legends, remembers the advent of the Great Pîrs, whom they regard the real founders of their sect. This took place in the eighth/fourteenth c. It is quite probable that the old literature of the *gnans* (which was still for a long time preserved

orally) was credited to the miraculous genius of the pîrs, who moulded a Hindu-Islamic sect which received the name of *Satpanth* (that is *Ṭarîqa'i Ḥaqq*, in Persian), "the Path to the (Religious) Truth". In the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth c. the Satpanthis, under the pressure of various economic causes, moved Southwards, towards the littoral provinces of India, settling in Gujrat and Konkan (the future Bombay presidency). Here the interests of the trading newcomers clashed with those of the converts from the local farmers, and the sect split: the traders, who received the Persian name of the Khojas, remained faithful to the Nizari Imams, and maintained contact with them, while the Gujrati farmers, who remained known as Satpanthis, ceased to recognise the Imams, placing themselves under the authority of their *kakas*, *pîrs*, *bâwâs*, etc. It may be noted, however, that both branches recognise as their religious literature exactly the same set of works. With the introduction of printing a certain proportion of the *gnans* were printed, in Gujrati and Kachhi (in Khojki script).

This literature forms a great contrast with the literatures of the other branches of Nizari Ismailism, in so far as it chiefly, if not entirely, is emotionally-religious, what may be called "religious lyrics". There are no learned theological or theosophical works, no translations from Ismaili literature of any other branches, of which the Khojas of the old-fashioned type usually know next to nothing. No history or biography, no dates. Only during the last century or so works began to appear dealing with such subjects.

9. *Minor Ismaili-Sufic Sects.*— In the course of its history Ismailism generated or strongly influenced a number of minor sectarian developments, usually of purely local and short-lived importance. Very few of such sectarian mushrooms produced a literature of their own. Among these the more developed were:

(a) *Ḥurûfîs* aud *Nuqṭawîs*, which arose towards the end of the eighth/fourteenth c., especially in the Caspian provinces of Persia. Absurd theories about the mystical and secret implicit meaning of letters of the alphabet and of numbers, are as old as the alphabets themselves. There is any amount of this stuff

in Ismaili literature and in Sufism, in the theosophy (*ḥikmat*), and so forth. The Caspian Ḥurûfîs, and their followers, however, succeeded in developing a complete literature in speculating over this futile wisdom. Their literature was in great demand, especially amongst the Bektashis. Works of this kind are in different languages, such as Persian, Turkish, and even the old Mazandarani dialect.

(b) *Ahl-i Ḥaqq* or *'Alî-Ilâhîs*. Tnis sect, which apparently came into existence about the end of the nineth/fifteenth c., or the beginning of the Safawid period, combined elements of the darwish, tribal (Kurdish), Christian and Shi'ite folklore, cemented by the Ismaili basic beliefs into a kind of a religlon. Their literature, kept in strict secret, consists of legends and religious poetry, in Gurani and Turkish. In their dogma certain elemcnts make this sect quite close to the Druzes.

3. Sources of Information.

Reliable information of bibliographical nature is exceedingly scarce in the Ismaili literature. Owing to their policy of concealing their literary works, many,—it would be safer to say the majority,—when citing a book, or referring to an earlier author, introduce the quotation merely by "it is said", or "(some oue) said". In the case of famous and prolific authors one may find citations introduced by: "Sayyid-nâ Ḥamîd al-dîn (al-Kirmânî) says". But as this author has something like thirty wo ks to his credit, it is like an invitation to search for a needle in a hay-stack. Sometimes one may come across citations such as "it is said in the" (follows the title of a book),– but no mention as to whose book it was.

Ibn Nadîm in his *Fihrist* (p. 268) gives interesting information about the concealment of Ismaili books at his time (around 377/988). He says that these have become rare, "one does not see them". They were much more in evidence (on the market) some twenty years before that time, especially during the earlier part of the reign of (the Buyid) Mu'izz ad-Dawla (320–356/932–967). It is quite possible that this was due to the changed political situation,– consolidation of the Fatimid power,

and their conquest of Egypt (358/969) when they began to constitute a serious threat to the Abbasids.

Generally speaking, complete quotations, such as "says (name) in his book (title)" are extremely rare. It is worth mentioning that in many works of two or three hundred pages or so, often no names of authors and no titles of books are mentioned.

As to non-Ismaili works, it is better not to touch them, bocause they supply plainly fictitious names and titles, or, if they knew the correct ones, they would pervert them to make them unrecognizable.

It wouid be not out of place to mention here that, having examined scores of heresiological works referring to the Ismailis, I found only one exception in apparently a unique copy of the *"Kitâb at-Tawârîkh wa'l-Milal"*, composed in 552/1157, and, as is stated on its title page, said to be the work of "al-Imâm Ḥujjat al-Islâm Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazâlî". As the famous al-Ghazâlî died in 505/1111, it is possible that the author was a descendant of his. The copy in the Astana library in Meshhed is dated 793/1391. It devotes to the Bâṭiniyya, or Ismailis, some one hundred big pages, and contains a unique feature,- it cites original and genuine Ismaili works under their true titles, and mentions the correct names o. their authors.

Apparently the earliest list of Ismaili books mentioned in Ismaili literature was the *Risâlat al-Fihrist*, composed by the famous Ḥamîdu'd-dîn al-Kirmânî, but it seems to be lost. A short list which the same author offers in the first chapter of his *Râḥat al-'Aql*, gives rise to suspicions as to its having been supplemented by later copyists.

A notable feature of the Ismaili literature is the existence of "chrestomathies", i.e., collections of shorter works or extracts from the larger ones, combined together for educative purposes. Such is the most valuable *Majmû' at-Tarbiyat* by Muḥammad b. Ṭâhir b. Ibrâhîm al-Ḥârithî (d. 584/1188). The *K. al-Az'hâr* by Ḥasan b. Nûḥ of Bhroch (in Gujrat) who died in 939/1533, is bigger but far less valuable. Meagre information is occasionally given in the historical books of the *dâ'î* Idrîs (d. 872/1468), the *'Uyûn al-Akhbâr* and *Nuz'hat al-Afkâr*.

By far the most complete is a late work known under the name of the *Fihrist al-Majdû'* (*majdû'* "mutilated", in India means one whose nose is cut), or, to give it its original title, *al-Majmû' fî Fihrist al-Kutub*, by Shaykh Ismâ'îl b. 'Abdi'r-Rasûl, a descendant of Lar Shâh, of Ujjain (d. 1183 or 1184/1769-70). His nose was, in fact, not cut,- it was the nose of his son, Hibatu'llâh, the co-founder of the Dawudi Bohora sect of the Hiptiyas in Ujjain. But the surname stuck, nevertheless, to the book (cf. Gulzare Daudi, 48).

The author of this *Fihrist* has arranged it to be a sort of a guide for the whole course of the education of a Bohora, and follows the long established tradition. For this reason the book contains much that has nothing directly to do with the Ismaili literature in the proper sense of the word. Thus the *first* division deals with Arabic and Persian grammars and dictionaries.

2. Works on ethics and general information, "useful knowledge".

3. Works on *fiqh* and cognate subjects.

4. Ismaili poetry (excluding versified treatises).

5. Ismaili works on ethics.

6. Works of historical, biographical and similar contents.

7, 8, 9, 10. Works on *ta'wîl* and *ḥaqâ'iq*, graded arccording to their difficulty for understanding.

11. *Masâ'il*, explanation of various difficult theological questions (this class of works plays the part of commentaries of the orthodox schools of Islam).

12. The *most secret* works on *ḥaqâ'iq*, termed *"al-kutub al-kibâr"*. Here the *Fihrist* really ends, but the author adds an appendix: *tammat al-Fihrist al-latî qara'tu fî hadhâ'l-Majmû' ilâ hadhâ'l-minwâl. Wa-mâ talâ-hâ min asmâ' al-kutub al-latî lam qad qara'tu.* Amongst these, strangely, the *Râḥat al-'Aql* is included.

The author snms up the contents of every work of importance with admirable accuracy and generally is very reliable. His arrangement in every section may at first appear rather chaotic, but in some cases it is possible to attribute this to his desire to put the works in the order in which they should be studied. An interesting feature is his memorial verses added at the end of many of his notes, mentionning the title and contents of

the book in florid Arabic poetry. Such feature apparently is not known in orthoox bibliographical works.

The *Fihrist al-Majdû'* by no means coutains the titles of *all* the works of this branch in existence. But in addition to this there is quite a lot of defective books and booklets, the titles and the authors of which are not known. Most probably the majority of such incomplete copies are worthless, but the possibility is not excluded that a proportion of these may be identified. Perhaps amongst the fragments it would be possible to recover pieces of early origin, and it is to be deplored that the taboo prevents the owners consenting to their books being properly examined.

There is not, and apparently never was, any bibliography of the Nizari literature, firstly because of its scarcity, and, secondly because of the backwardness of the milieu in which it is preserved. There are apparently old works, judging from their archaic language, and the possibility is not excluded that they may be occasionally referred to in well-known works, but, owing to the policy of concealment, neither their titles nor names of the authors are traceable. The same policy is also responsible for the manner of referring to works by the number of chapters: *Haft Bâb, Shish Faṣl*, 36 *ṣaḥîfa*, or *Taṣawwurât* for the *Rawḍatu't-taslîm*, and so forth. Most probably this led to the memory of their original titles being lost.

PART I

FATIMID AND MUSTA'LIAN LITERATURES

1. THE LITERATURE OF THE EARLIEST (QARMATIAN?) PERIOD

Sayyid-nâ 'Abdân, "ṣâḥib jazîra'i 'Irâq", as Nâṣir-i Khusraw calls him (*Khwân al-Ikhwân*, 1940, p. 115). He is usually regarded as an assistant of Ḥamdân Qarmaṭ. Was murdered in 286/899. Ibn Nadîm (who wrote in or about 377/988) mentions (pp. 268–269) several of 'Abdân's works which were in existence at his time:

(1) *K. ar-Raḥâ wa'd-Dûlâb.* (2) *K. al-Ḥudûd wa'l-Asnâd.* (3) *K. al-Lâmi'.* (4) *K. az-Ẓâhir.* (5) *K. al-Maydân.* (6) *K. an-Nîrân.* (7) *K. al-Malâḥim.* (8) *K. al-Maqṣad.*

'Abdân,—another, or the same as the preceding? Mentioned in F. All my insistent inquiries could not elicit any detailed information as to his full name, date, etc. My Bohora informers assured me that this 'Abdân had nothing whatever to do with the preceding 'Abdân, but could not bring any definite facts to support their contention.

(9) *R. ash-Sham'a*, also known under the title of *R. al-Mafâtîḥ*. None of my informers had ever seen a copy of this book, or heard about its existence in any private collection.

Manṣûru'l-Yaman, Abû'l-Qâsim al-Ḥusayn b. al-Faraḥ Ibn Ḥawshab al-Kûfî. Was in 266/879 sent to Aden with a propaganda mission, had great success, brought the whole of the Yaman under his control by the end of the iii/ix c. The exact date of his death is not known. Several works are attributed to him in the Musta'lian literature, but it is quite possible that this is due to the same "fascination of the famous name" as in the case of many other works the real authors of which were forgotten.

(10) *K. al-'Âlim wa'l-Ghulâm*, a story-like popular account of the Ismaili doctrine. Its indubitably very archaic nature, perhaps retaining many features of the Qarmatian phase, makes it deserving of a careful study and analysis. A detailed account of its contents has been given by myself in my "Studies in Early Persian Ismailism" (Ismaili S-ty's Series, first edition 1948, second 1955). Cf. the late Dr. P. Kraus' review in the "Revue des Études Islamiques", 1932, pp. 483–490. The text still remains unedited.

(11) *K. ar-Rushd wa'l-Hidâyat*. This work is also attributed to the authorship of Ibn Ḥawshab, although it is question in how far correctly. There is obviously much in common with the preceding work in it, so that it seems quite possible that even if the book is not by the same author, it undoubtedly comes from the same school and the same period. The work has not been preserved in its entirety, but, probably by chance, several fragments of it are found in the form of a continuation of the *Sullamu'n-Najât* by Abû Ya'qûb as-Sijistânî (see further on, no. 37), with which it has in fact nothing to do. The work, or rather its fragments, were analysed and translated by myself in the same "Studies in Early Persian Ismailism", mentioned above, and the text was edited by the late Prof. M. Kamil Hussein, of the Cairo University, in the Ismaili S-ty's "Collectanea", 1948, pp. 185–213. My long search for a complete copy of the work, unfortunately, remained fruitless.

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(12) *Rasâ'il Ikhwân aṣ-Ṣafâ*, the well known "Encyclopaedia of the Brotherhood of Purity" which, according to the Ismaili tradition (obviously of quite late origin) is supposed to be one of the earliest works, its author being the grandfather of al-Mahdî *bi'l-lâh*, the founder of the Fatimid caliphate. As the latter was born in 260/874, we have to presume that the work came into existence about that early date. The *'Uyûn al-akhbâr*, by Idrîs b. Ḥasan, which is full of legends, has (in the fourth vol.) a long story about the origin of the work which was intended to counteract "the godless policy" of al-Ma'mûn (198-218/813-833), i.e. the early Abbasids generally, of encouraging lay learning.

Its purpose was to introduce a scientific proof of the truth of the doctrine of Islam with the help of the "philosophy" of the day, based on Hellenistic wisdom.

All this, surely, has nothing to do with history. There are no positive proofs which would show whether the work was a toned down Ismaili production, or a non-Ismaili work, later on "Ismailized" for some reason. As is known, the earliest reference to the Encyclopaedia in general literature is found in Abû Ḥayyân at-Tawḥîdî's work *al-Muqâbasât* in which he sums up his talk which he had in 373/983–4 on the subject, in connection with a certain Zayd b. Rufâ'a. He mentions as some of the compilers: Abû Sulaymân Muḥammad b. Ma'shar al-Bustî, known as al-Muqaddasî, Abû'l-Ḥasan 'Alî b. Hârûn az-Zanjânî, Abû Aḥmad al-Mihrjânî, al-'Awfî, "and others". All names mentioned by him apear to be of Persian origin. Cf. B-I, 213 and BS-I, 380.

Many strange matters appear in connection with its career in Ismaili literature. Sayyid-nâ Ḥamîd ad-dîn al-Kirmânî, a scholar of outstanding erudition, who was a contemporary of at-Tawḥîdî, mentioned above, obviously does not refer to it (or does not regard it as an Ismaili work). As far as I could see personally from the works accessible to me, and by questioning various learned Musta'lian Ismailis, *none* of known works of the *Fatimid* period refers to it. But it makes a sudden appearance about the middle of the sixth/twelfth c., *in the Yaman* in the works of the earliest Yamanite *dâ'îs*. It is usually referred to as *al-Jâmi'a* and also *ar-Rasâ'il*. The earlier compilers do not know the name of the author, referring to him as *ash-Shakhṣ al-Fâḍil ṣâḥib ar-Rasâ'il*, i.e. the learned author of the Encyclopaedia (as in the *Kanz al-Walad* by the second *dâ'î* Ibrâhîm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥâmidî, d. 557/1162). From the form of the simple invocation, *naḍḍar Allâh wajha-hû*, "may God beautify his countenance", it appears as if the author did not regard him as an Imam, to whom such invocation would not be applied. It is only later on that the name of the "author" appears in such references as Aḥmad (b. 'Abd Allâh b. Muḥammad b. Ismâ'îl b. Ja'far) towards the end of the seventh/thirteenth c.

While the version in general use of the Encyclopaedia usually contains 52 *rasâ'il*, the Ismailis profess to have yet one

more *risâla* called *Jâmi'at al-Jâmi'a (dhât al-fawâ'id an-nâfi'a)*. I came across a reference to it only in the work by the 5th Yamanite *dâ'î* 'Alî b. Muḥammad b. al-Walîd (d. 612/1215) in his work *Lubâb al-fawâ'id wa ṣafw al-'aqâ'id* (no. 328) who calls it the work of the same "learned author", i.e. the Imam Aḥmad. It may be possible that careful investigations may prove profitable in the solution of the almost hopeless problem of the *Rasâ'il*.

It may be noted that there is much confusion with regard to such a "53-rd *Risâla*". As the whole of the Encyclopaedia was originally called *al-Jâmi'a*, the *Jâmi'at al-Jâmi'a* was obviously to mean a kind of a synopsis of the original work. But in the later usage, still continued now, two *Jâmi'as* came into existence: simply *Jâmi'a* and the *Jâmi'at al-Jâmi'a*. It is very difficult to find out anything reliable about them. I have seen several copies of the work, and all of them appeared to be different. In addition there is the one recently edited in Damascus by Dr. J. Ṣalîbâ, in two vols. Questioning learned Musta'lians does not bring any light into this dark matter—they are quite helpless in such problems. Some of those *Jâmi'as* which I have seen were thin volumes, others thick, and one which I examined was nothing beyond a simple "table of contents", not even deserving the name of a conspectus.

Much has been written about these *Rasâ'il*, but so far no definite date of the composition had been firmly ascertained. It seems to me that what has been said above may offer some ground to the theory that the work, perhaps really started by some one in Baṣra in the second half of the fourth/tenth c., was later on continued and Ismailized in the Yaman in the Ismaili circles. When it acquired a certain fame, a legend was concocted about the authorship of Imam Aḥmad, and repeated attempts were made to prepare a condensed version of it. The names of various persons which have been mentioned may be genuine, but probably not as members of a "learned society", but authors of separate works which were combined in the text of the *Rasâ'il*.

Ja'far b. Manṣûr al-Yaman (that is, of Ibn Ḥawshab), possibly not the son, but a grandson or great-grandson of the famous missionary, wrote about 380/990, because in one of his works *(Asrâr an-Nuṭaqâ')* he says that 120 years have passed since the disappearance of the twelfth Ithna-'ashari Imam, in 260/874. His works are apparently very rarely, or never, cited in the literature of the Fatimid period, but are often quoted in the works of the Neo-Yamanite period. They sharply differ in their tone and spirit from those of the "classic" Fatimid literature, by their leaning to mysticism and controversial forays against the Ithna-'asharis. The late Dr. P. Kraus took much interest in them and offered valuable remarks on them in his review of the first edition of the "Guide to Ismaili Literature", published in the "Revue des Études Islamiques", 1932, p. 486.

(**13**) *Kitâb al-Kashf*, ed. by Prof. R. Strothmann, as no. 13 in the Islamic Research Association's series, Bombay, 1952. The work chiefly deals with the mythology of the Coran and its esoteric interpretation. Certain passages are in cipher.

(**14** and **15**) *Asrâr an-Nuṭaqâ'* aud *Sarâ'ir an-Nuṭaqâ'*, two works apparently closely connected with each other. The first fifty pages or so in both coincide almost completely and only later differ in the text being amplified. Both deal with the *ta'wîl* of the Corano-Biblical myths.

(**16**) *ash-Shawâhid wa'l-Bayân fî Ithbât Maqâm Amîr al-Mu'minîn wa'l-A'imma*, explaining the *âyats* containing implicit references to Mawlâ-nâ 'Alî and his successors' standing.

(**17**) *Ta'wîl az-Zakât*, on the mystical meaning of the prescription for paying the religious tax, apparently the best known work of the author.

(**18**) *al-Fatarât wa'l-Qirânât*, also known under the title of *Kitâb al-Ja'r al-aswad*. As Dr. P. Kraus observes, this work in the version now found in the Bohora collections cannot be the original work of Ja'far b. Manṣûr al-Yaman because it contains references to the alleged son of al-Âmir, aṭ-Ṭayyib who "disappeared" in 524/1130. It would be interesting to find out whether such "emendations" are observed in one only copy which Dr. P. Kraus happened to peruse, or are found in all copies.

(19) *K. al-Farâ'iḍ wa Ḥudûd ad-Dîn.* There is another work apparently by the same author (ms. Leiden, 1971) with the title *Ta'wîl al-Farâ'iḍ.* According to Dr. P. Kraus these two works are different. Perhaps this may be a parallel case to that of the *Asrâr an-Nuṭaqâ'* and *Sarâ'ir an-Nuṭaqâ'*, mentioned above. According to P. Kraus the work is divided into five chapters: 1. *Ta'wîl "wa laqad khalaqnâ'l-insân min salsal"*; 2. *Al-kitâb al-wârid ilâ nâḥiyat al-Yaman min Mawlâ-nâ al-Mahdî ba'd muzûli-hi fî'l-Mahdiyya*; 3. *Sharḥ qiṣṣat Yûsuf*; 4. *Sharḥ sûrat al-Kahf*; 5. *Shay' min k. al-Adilla wa Shawâhid min ta'lîfâti-hi ayḍan al-adwâr as-sab'a.*

(20) *ar-Riḍâ' fî'l-Bâṭin*, the *ta'wîl* of the prescriptions of *sharî'at* as based on the relevant verses of the Coran. The work is not divided into regular chapters, each section begins with *"al-Qawl fî...."* The subjects are the usual *ṣalât, ṣawm, tajdîd al-bay'at*, etc. Interesting is *ma'ânî'l-marâtib as-sab'* i. e. the *da'wat* hierarchy, here oddly running as follows: *Imâm, ḥujjat, dhû-massâ, bâb, dâ'î, mukallib, mu'min*, and so forth. Although utterly boring, this work may deserve careful study because in his speculations the author continually touches on the matters of the organisation of the *da'wat* system, on which Ismaili authors are generally not talkative.

(21) *Ta'wîl al-ḥurûf al-mu'jama*, Hurufite-like speculations.

(22) *Ta'wîl Sûrat an-Nisâ'.*

(23) *Sîrat Ibn Ḥawshab*, lost, quoted in *ar-Risâlat al-Waḥîda* (q.v.), probably not really the work of Ja'far b. Manṣûri'l-Yaman.

Two works are sometimes added to the list of Ja'far's composition: *K. al-'Âlim wa'l-Ghulâm* (cf. no. 10 above), and *K. al-Adilla*, which is usually included into the "13 *Risâlas*" of Ḥamîdu'd-dîn al-Kirmânî, q.v.

II. THE LITERATURE OF THE CLASSIC FATIMID PERIOD

Nasafî or *Nakhshabî*. His name is variously given by different sources as Abû 'Abd Allâh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad an-Nasafî (or Nakhshabî). Nâṣir-i Khusraw calls him (*Khwân al-Ikhwân*, 112, 113, 115 and *Jâmi' al-Ḥikmatayn*, Text, 171-172) Abû'l-Ḥasan Nakhshabî, *shaykh-i shahîd*. He was executed in 331/942 on the charge of heresy. I have already discussed at length the question about him and his book in my "Studies in Early Persian Ismailism", sec. ed. (A-8) 1955, pp. 87-122 ("Early Controversy in Ismailism").

(24) *K. al-Maḥṣûl*, apparently the earliest important book in the Fatimid literature. There are many doubts as to its author. 'Abdu'l-Qâhir al-Baghdâdî (*al-Farq bayn al-Firaq*, p. 277) says that the book was composed by a certain *dâ'î* "known as al-Bazdahî". It is not clear whether this Bazdahî and Nakhshabî are one and the same person. In my paper mentioned above I have emphasised the strange fact that although a special (voluminous) book, *K. al-Iṣlâḥ*, was composed by the learned Abû Ḥâtim ar-Râzî, the latter never mentions the name of the author. Still more strange is the fact that later on the controversy was taken up by Sayyid-nâ Ḥamîdu'd-Dîn al-Kirmânî, who in his well-known *K. al-Riyâḍ* continually refers to his predecessors, Abû Ḥâtim and Abû Ya'qûb as-Sijzî by their names, but *never* does this in regard to the author of *al-Maḥṣûl*. This circumstance seems really puzzling. Or should we think as follows: the name of Nakhshabî, a proved heretic, executed by the government, could compromise the doctrine with which the later authors had to deal. As *al-Maḥṣûl* was widely known amongst the Ismailis, it was no great fault to omit the name of the author.

It is not easy to reconstruct its contents from the references found in the *K. al-Iṣlâḥ* and *K. ar-Riyâḍ*, because they deal chiefly with isolated statements, not necessarily quoted in the order in which they occur in the original book. It appears as if the

Maḥṣûl devoted some space to the discussion of the questions of cosmogony and theosophy as also the *ta'wîl* of the Corano-Biblical mythology which is largely discussed by the author of *al-Iṣlâḥ*.

Nakhshabî was also the author of some other books. Ḥamîd ad-Dîn al-Kirmânî *(Râḥatu'l-'Aql*, 22) vaguely refers to his "books" (*kutub)*, but Ibn Nadîm (268) mentions:

(**25**) *K. 'Inwânu'd-Dîn.*

(**26**) *K. Uṣûl ash-Shar'.*

(**27**) *K. ad-Da'wat al-Munjiya.*

None of these is apparently preserved. In a private collection I saw a booklet on cosmogony and astronomy, with the title *"K. Kawn al-'Âlam"*, but there was no means to ascertain whether the statement of its being a work of Nakhshabî was reliable.

Abû Ḥâtim ar-Râzî. His full name was Abû Ḥâtim 'Abd ar-Raḥmân (b. Ḥamdân) ar-Râzî al-Warsinânî (?) Ibn Nadîm (266) says that he was "the chief *dâ'î*" of Daylam (i.e. not the district of Daylam, but the state of the Daylamites, or Bûyides, in Northern Persia, founded in 320/932). The same Ibn Nadîm says that he was originally a Manichee (Thanawî), then became a Dahrite (materialist-atheist), and later a *zindîq* (Christian gnostic). Such a precise information about his "spiritual curriculum" sounds suspicious, and most probably is someone's "reconstruction" by putting together signs of his indubitable solid erudition in the matter of the religions of his time. There are in fact signs of his acquaintance with the Manichees, he even refers to Mani's book *Shaburqân (Shâhpuhrqân)*. He undoubtedly was in close contact with the Christian, probably Armenian, church, had much information about the Zoroastrians, Mazdakites, Bihâfarîdîs, whom he mentions in his works. Not much sensible may be construed from these vague references, but the impression is that he perhaps may have belonged to an early Armenian adoptionist sect (like the later Thonrakîs) who were abusively called Manichees, but this, certainly, is merely a possibility.

It is unfortunate that there is no chronological information about him. I searched his main books, *K. az-Zîna*, *al-Iṣlâḥ* and

A'lâm an-Nubuwwat, quite fruitlessly, and found nothing what may be an indication as to the time of their composition. Anyhow, he reached high position in the *da'wat* service, and, as Sayyid-nâ Ḥamîdu'd-Dîn writes in his *K. ar-Riyâḍ* (cf. "Early Controversy", p. 90), he was one of the experts appointed by the headquarters for the correction and re-adjustment of religious beliefs in different local Ismaili communities. In the fifth vol. of the *'Uyûn al-Akhbâr* of Idrîs b. Ḥasan it is narrated that his *K. az-Zîna* met with much admiration at the court of *Mawlâ-nâ* al-Qâ'im (322–334/934–946). With all this, it may be true that he had not much schooling. Sayyid-nâ Ḥamîdu'd-Dîn, in his *K. ar-Riyâḍ*, in many places draws the attention of the reader to the fact that Abû Ḥâtim incorrectly cites *al-Maḥṣûl* in his *al-Iṣlâḥ*, and makes mistakes in his statements. It may be provisionally regarded that he flourished about the middle of the fourth/tenth c. The statement, which is found in the works of various Western authors, that he was executed in the same year, 331/942, as Nakhshabî, is apparently erroneous.

(**28**) *Kitâb az-Zîna*, "The Book of Beauty", is mentioned by Ibn Nadîm (268) as "a large book, about 400 leaves". The Ismailis class it as kind of a dictionary (*lughat*). In fact it is rather a religious encyclopaedia, arranged according to the groups of cognate subjects. It opens with the discussion of letters of the alphabet, *ḥurûf*, then the "glorious names of God" (in the ms. to which I had access these occupy no less than 600 pages out of a thousand). Then eschatology, sects (very meagre), some notes on geography (also miserably meagre), and a mixture of subjects (wine, *nabîdh*, demonology, games, and so forth). It is being edited in Egypt, and two fascicles have already been published, as I have heard.

(**29**) *Kitâb al-Iṣlâḥ.* It is probably the result of the commission given to the author to correct errors found in *K. al-Maḥṣûl*, mentioned above (24). In the copies which I saw the work begins abruptly, and it is quite possible that the *muqaddima* and a portion of the beginning of the book have been lost in antiquity. At the beginning there probably was a division into *bâbs*, but further on in the text the *"bâbs"* disapear, and *"faṣls"* replace them. However, there are many signs of the possible misplacement of

the leaves, – no wonder, for a big book may easily become loose in binding and leaves mixed. It touches on the matters of cosmogony, but the bulk is entirely devoted to the interpretation of the Coran myths as symbols for the Ismaili *da'wat* ideas. The matter was discussed in detail in my "Early Controversy", pp. 91–94. Prof. Ḥasan Minuchehr, of the University of Tehran, is preparing a critical edition of the text which, we may hope, will be thoroughly indexed and annotated.

(**30**) *A'lâm an-Nubuwwat*, apparently the most interesting of Abû Ḥâtim's works. It may be classed as the work on theosophical controversy with the famous early Islamic philosopher and physician, Muḥammad b. Zakariyâ ar-Râzî, of the Samanid time, who d. in Baghdad or Ray in 311 or 320/923 or 932, leaving many vatuable works which were translated into Latin, and much used in Mediaeval Europe.

The work answers the questions put by this "*mulḥid*", Rhazes, as to why God chooses certain persons for a high Divine mission in preference to others Why and how the blood shed in the process of fighting for the attainment of the aims of that Divine mission is lawful (that is to say, not a crime). The ideas of God, *nafs*, *hayûlâ*, time, five elements, etc., are discussed. The principle of *taqlîd*. *Naẓar wa baḥth*, or critical examination of beliefs, *uṣûl*. Condemnation of the judgement by analogy, *qiyâs*. Great Prophets, their mission, and divergence in their ideas, ideals and preaching. The reasons for which God has chosen Muḥammad or Jesus, etc., for their high mission. Miracle recognised and regarded as necessary. The Coran is the greatest miracle. Reason alone is insufficient to explain the structure of the universe. Proofs of religious knowledge being superior to knowledge coming from other sources.

The late Dr. P. Kraus worked over an edition of the *A'lâm an-Nubuwwat*, and some of his notes were published by him in his "Raziana I" and "Raziana II" in the "Orientalia" 34 and 35.

(**31**) *K. ar-Raj'a*. It is referred to as the author's own work in the *K. az-Zîna*.

(**32**) *K. al-Jâmi'*, on *fiqh*, mentioned by Ibn Nadîm (268). Both these works are un-known to the Musta'lian Ismailis, and apparently were lost long ago.

Abû Ya'qûb as-Sijistânî (or *Sijzî*, or *Sigzî)*, surnamed *Bandâna*, most probably for *Bandâna'î* or *Bandânî*, after Bandân, a district in the Northern part of Sistan. It is often erroneously stated that he was executed at the same time as Nakhshabî, i.e. 331/942. In his *Kitâb al-Iftikhâr* (cf. no. 36) in the 9th *bâb*, dealing with eschatology, he mentions that since the death of the Prophet (11. A.H.) more than 350 years have passed (at the date of his writing), that is, it was the year 361 A.H. A similar statement is found in *bâb* 13. But it is possible that the date of his death cannot be fixed before 386/996 because one of his treatises (not mentioned in F.), *al-Mabda' wa'l-Ma'âd* (see No. 40), is dedicated to the Imam al-Ḥâkim *bi-armi'l-lâh* who in that year ascended the throne. He was probably not the same person as "Abû Ya'qûb, the *khalîfa* of the Imâm", mentioned by Ibn Nadîm (268). He was a prolific author, but not of high theological attainments, and specialised on popular treatises, evidently intended for the beginners, as his *Iftikhâr*, *Sullam an-Najât*, etc. Many of his works remain incomplete, some are lost.

(**33**) *Ithbâtu'n-Nubuwwat*, apparently his largest and most interesting work. He refers in it to Daysanites, Marcionites, Manichees ("of China"), Mazdakites, Bihâfarîdîs, Zoroastrians and so forth. The work is divided into seven *maqâlas*, each of which is subdivided into 12 *faṣls*. *Maqâlas:* 1. *at-tafâwut al-mawjûd fî'l-makhlûqîn;* 2. *fî anna-hu lammâ thabat anna li-hadhâ'l-'âlam Ṣâni'an Ḥaẓîman wajab an yakûn min-hu Rasûlan ilâ'l-maṣnû'în;* 3. *ithbât an-nubuwwât* (sic) *min jihat al-ashyâ' aṭ-ṭabî'iyya;* 4. *ithbât an-nubuwwat min jihat al-ashyâ' ar-rûḥâniyya;* 5. *fî anna'l-anbiyâ' kânû muttafiqîn fî'l ḥaqâ'iq wa kânû mukhtalifîn fî'z-zawâhir;* 6. *kamiyyat adwâri-him wa mâ bayn kull dawr wa'd-dawr al-âkhar;* 7. *al-'ajâ'ib al-mawjûdât fî'l-Qur'ân wa'sh-shari'at wa'd-dalâ'il 'alâ ithbât nubuwwat Muḥammad.* (As I was told, in the majority of copies there are only fragments of the *maqâla* VI, and the *maqâla* VII is lost).

(**34**) *K. al-Mawâzîn*, in 19 *mîzâns:* 1. *mukhâlafatu'l-ḥaqq;* 2. *îjâb as-sa'âdat li-man ajâb da'wat al-Ḥaqq;* 3. *kayfiyyat al-burhân;* 4. *îjâb ma'rifat al-Mubdi';* 5. *salb al-wujûh* (sic) *iyyâ-hu;* 6. *salb qidma;* 7. *salb at-tashbîh wa't-ta'ṭîl;* 8. *tawḥîd bi't-taqrîb;* 9. *amr wa ma'rifat 'ibâdati-hi;* 10. *'aql wa ma'rifat asmâ'i-hi;* 11. *al-furû' ath-thalâtha al-mutafarri'a mina'l aṣlayn;* 12.? 13. *nuṭaqâ';* 14. *usus;* 15. *a'imma;* 16.

ḥujaj wa du'ât; 17. *al-Qâ'im;* 18. *thawâb al-muḥsinîn;* 19; *ath-thawâb al-abadî huwa'l-'ilm at-ta'yîdî.*

(**35**) *Tuḥfat al-mustajîb* (or *mustaṭîbîn)* dealing with *Bârî, amr, kalima, 'aql, sâbiq, qadâ, hayûlâ, nafs, lawḥ, 'arsh, thânî, tâlî, qadar, ṣûrat, shams, qamar, aṣlân, jidd, fatḥ, khayâl, ma'nâ al-ḥurûf as-sab'a, man yuqâbilu-hum mina'n-nuṭaqâ'.* (Mr. 'Ârif Thâmir, of Salamiyya, has prepared an edition of this text from a Syrian ms.)

(**36**) *Kitâb al-Iftikhâr*, another similar elementary work, in 17 *bâbs:* 1. *ma'rifat tawḥîd Allâh;* 2. *ma'rifat amr Allâh;* 3. *ma'rifat al-aṣlayn;* 4. *ma'rifat al-jidd wa'l-fatḥ wa'l-khayâl;* 5. *ma'rifat al-ḥurûf al-'ulwiyyat sab'a;* 6. *ma'rifat ar-risâlat;* 7. *ma'rifat al-wiṣâyat;* 8. *ma'rifat al-Imâmat;* 9. *ma'rifat al-Qiyâmat;* 10. *ma'rifat al-ba'th:* 11. *m. ath-thawâb wa'l 'iqâb;* 12. *m. ma'khadh at-ta'wîl mina'l-Qur'ân;* 13. *m. al-wuḍû' wa'ṭ-ṭahârat;* 14. *m. aṣ-ṣalât;* 15. *m. az-zakât;* 16. *m. aṣ-ṣawm;* 17. *m. al-ḥajj ilâ'l-Bayt.*

(**37**) *Sullam an-Najât*, another elementary work of a similar kind, as far as I could ascertain incomplete at the end. Cf. my "Book of Righteousness" in "Studies in Early Persian Ismailism" (sec. ed. pp. 29-59). The work is not divided into *bâbs*, but the subjects, as stated in the introduction, follow the Coranic "creed" of belief in God, His angels, His (sacred revealed) books, His Apostles, Resurrection, quickening of the dead, Paradise and Hell. As far as I heard, in all copies the work breaks on the fifth section, *ba'th*, and as a continuation are added fragments from the *K. ar-Rushd wa'l-Hidâyat*, discussed above (no. 11) which has no connection with the original work. The work contains references to the Manichees *(Thanawiyya)*, Daysanites, Sabeans, Majûs, etc.

(**38**) *al-Yanabî'*, yet one more elementary work, divided into 40 *yanbû's*, springs or sources,— spiritual, *rûḥânî*, as explained in the preface: 1. *ma'nâ'l-yanbû';* 2. *huwiyyat al-Mubdi';* 3. *iḍâfat amr Allâh ilâ ḥarfayn;* 4. *bayân 'âlam al-'aql wa'n-nafs;* 5. *inna'l-'aql al-awwal mubdi';* 6. *qabl al-Awwal lâ yatawahham shay';* 7. *al-'Aql lâ yabîd;* 8. *al-'Aql sâkin;* 9. *al-'Aql qâ'im bi'l-quwwa;* 10. *ithbât 'aql mujarrad;* 11. *mukhâṭabat al-'Aql li'n-nafs;* 12. *kayfiyyat ittiṣâl fawâ'id al-'Aql bi'n-nafs;* 13. *al-ays lâ yaṣîr laysan;* 14. *al-aysiyyât kullu-hâ dhawât ghâyât;* 15. *as-su'âl lima khalaq Allâh al-'âlam maḥâl mumtana';* 16. *ibdâ' al-'Aql quwâ kathîrat;* 17. *ithbât nafs kulliyyat min-hâ tanba'-ath al-juz'iyyât fî'l-bashar;* 18. *fî'l-bashar min ajzâ' jawhar mina'n-*

nafs al-kulliyya; 19. *al-aflâk bi-jamî' quwâ-hâ wa ḥarakâti-hâ fî afq an-nafs;* 20. *kayfiyyat ḥarakât al-falak 'alâ murâd an nafs . . .;* 21. *Allâh bi-kull makân lâ yaliq bi'l-khalq al-awwal faḍlan 'ani'l-mubdi';* 22. *ibdâ' al-insân;* 23. *kayfiyyat 'ibâdat al-Mubdi' . . .;* 24. *Malâ'ikat Allâh lâ yuḥṣî-hâ 'adad;* 25. *ash-sharr lâ aṣl la-hu bi'l-ibdâ';* 26. *al-quwâ'ṭ-ṭabî'iyya lâ qadr la-hâ 'inda'l-quwâ'r-rûḥâniyya;* 27. *ath-thawâb huwa'l-'ilm;* 28. *ma'nâ'l-Jannat wa'n-Nâr;* 29. *kayfiyyat at-tafâḍul bayna'l-muthâbîn;* 30. *ash-shahâdat;* 31. *ma'nâ'ṣ-ṣalîb li'l-Masîḥ;* 32. *ittifâq aṣ-ṣalîb ma'a'sh-shahâdat;* 33. *al-'âlam lâ ṣûrat la-hu 'inda'l-Mubdi' qabl al-ibdâ';* 34. *az-zawj al-murakkab al-ladhî yatlû'l-arba'a wa huwa's-sitta;* 35. *aḥad lâ yuballigh martabat al-'Aql;* 36. *huwiyyat al-kathrat min 'illat wâḥida hiya amr Allâh;* 37. *huwiyyat Ṣâḥib az-zamân;* 38. *li'l-bashar 'awd ilâ thawâb abadî;* 39. *ma'nâ al-kalimat li'l-Mubdi';* 40. *kayfiyyat ittiṣâl at-ta'yîd bi'l-mu'ayyadîn fî'l-'âlam al-jismânî.* Edited and translated into French by Prof. H. Corbin in his "Trilogie Ismaélienne", Paris-Teheran, 1961 (Transl. pp. 5–128, text pp. 1–98.)

(**39**) *al-Maqâlîd al-Malakûtiyya*, divided into many *iqlîds*, referred to as the work of the author in the *Sullam an-najât*, extract in *Azhâr* i.

(**40**) *al-Mabda' wa'l-ma'âd*, a short *risâla*, divided into three *qisms*, on the usual theosophic problems: I. *fî ithbât at-tawḥîd li-Ṣâni' al-'âlam;* II. *fî mâhiyyat mabda' adh-dhawât min al-Lawḥ al-karîm;* III. *fî mâ taṣîr ilay-hi'n-nafs an-nâṭiqa.* The name of the author is mentioned in the heading, but does not appear in the text. In the *muqaddima* the Imam al-Ḥâkim *bi-amr Allâh* is called the "*Imâm al-'aṣr*". Unfortunately, it seems that no books are referred to in the treatise which would help us to check the date of composition. The work is not referred to in the *Fihrist al-Majdû'*, but is found in a private collection, occupiying 36 pages of small size. It is interesting that the question of *tanâsukh* is touched upon in the second *qism*, - exactly the problem which was violently attacked by Nâṣir-i Khusraw in his works.

(**41**) *Musliyat al-aḥzân*, on the meritoriousness of patience in sorrow.

(**42**) *Kitâb al-Wâ'iẓ*, on moral principles.

(**43**) *ar-Risâlat al-Bâhira*, a short opuscule of theosophical contents, about 27 small pages. Mentioned by Bîrûnî (Hind, 32).

(**44**) *al-Radd 'alâ man waqaf 'inda'l-falak al-muḥîṭ mina'l-falâsifa.* A short treatise, about 17 pp., discussing matters of cosmography and astrology.

(**45**) *Kitâb al-Bishârât*, mentioned in some of Sijzî's works.

(**46**) *Kitâb an-Nuṣra fî sharḥ mâ qâla-hu'sh-Shaykh al-ḥamîd fî kitâb al-Maḥṣûl.* Abû Ya'qûb's answer to the criticism of Abû Ḥâtim ar-Râzî in his *K. al-Iṣlâḥ*. Cf. my "Studies in Early Persian Ismailism" (second ed., pp. 87—122, "An Early Controversy in Ismailism"), and above under *K. al-Maḥṣûl* and *K. al-Iṣlâḥ*. The work is lost. *Ash-Shaykh al-ḥamîd* obviously is Abû Ḥâtim.

Works mentioned by Bîrûnî (Hind, 32), 'Abd al-Qâhir, *Farq*, 267, and *Zâd al-musâfirîn* of Nâṣir-i Khusraw, 422:

(**47**) *Asâs ad-Da'wat* (?);

(**48**) *Ta'wîl ash-sharâ'i'* (or *sharî'at*?);

(**49**) *Sûs* (*usûs*?) *al-baqâ'* (or *an-ni'âm*?)

Works doubtful:

(**50**) *Sarâ'ir al-ma'âd wa'l-ma'âsh*, divided into 7 *faṣls*. Sometimes said to be by Abû Ḥâtim ar-Râzî, as stated in F.

(**51**) *Khazînat al-adilla*t, divided into 28 *khizânas*, on Ismaili *'aqâ'id*, often treated as one of the 13 *risâlas* of *Ḥamîd ad-Dîn al-Kirmânî*. F. calls it the work by an anonymous author.

(**52**) *al-Kitâb al-Gharîb fî ma'nâ'l-Iksîr*, perhaps the same as *Ma'rifat al-Iksîr* (in a private collection), a work on alchemy.

(**53**) *Mu'nis al-qulûb.*

(**54**) *Risâlat fî Ta'lîf al-Arwâḥ.*

(**55**) *R. al-Amn mina'l-ḥayrat*, all three in a private collection, all appear very doubtful.

Work in Persian:

(**56**) *Kashf al-Maḥjûb*, perhaps originally written in Arabic and later, but still at an early period, translated into Persian. An old copy of it, from the library of the late Sayyid Naṣr Allâh Taqawî of Tehran, was edited by Prof. H. Corbin, as no.1 in the series of Bibliothèque Iranienne of the Institut des Études iraniennes de l'Université de Paris (Tehran, 1949), with valuable notes, comments and an index. It is apparently this work which is mentioned by 'Abd al-Qâhir in his *Farq*, p. 267, under the title of *Kashf al-Asrâr*.

al-Manṣûr bi'l-lâh, Abû'z-Ẓâhir Ismâ'îl, the third Fatimid caliph (334—341/946—953). In the case of this Imam, as also of al-Mu'izz, some works are mentioned of what may be called double authorship, "inspired" by the Imam and actually written by Qâḍî Nu'mân (q.v.)

(**57**) *Tathbît al-Imâmat li-Mawlâ-nâ 'Alî*, a small booklet, without division into chapters.

(**58**) *al-Waṣiyyat.*

Al-Mu'izz li-dîn Allâh, Abû Tamîm Ma'add, the fourth Fatimid caliph (341—365/953—975). It is also difficult to ascertain whether he was the real author, or Qâḍî Nu'mân.

(**59**) *R. ar-Rawḍa*, principal prescriptions of religion, apparently the same as *Ta'wîl ash-Sharî'at*, or *Ta'wîl ash-Sharâ'i'*, or *Asrâr ash-Sharî'at*, etc. It seems to be very rare now, although often referred to in carlier works.

(**60**) *al-Munâjât* or *al-Ad'iya*, prayers for every day of the week, a book of 93 pages. Some passages apparently include interesting allusions. It is difficult to find it out whether it is genuine.

(**61**) *ar-Risâlat ilâ'l-Ḥasan al-Qarmaṭî*, mentioned by al-Maqrîzî in Itti'âẓ, 134-143.

(**62**) *Ar-Risâlat al-Masîḥiyya*, comp. in 358/969(ms. Paris 131) Cf. L. Massignon, "Recueil de textes inédits" (Paris, 1929), pp.215,217, where it is called *Maqâlat Masîḥiyya*, addressed to bishop Paul of Damietta.

(**63**) *Dustûr al-Munajjimîn*, a work on astrology with a very interesting introduction from which it is possible to see that the unknown author, who wrote about the middle of the iv/x c., was an Ismaili. Portions edited and discussed in M. de Goeje's *Mémoire sur les Carmathes de Bahraïn* (1880), ms. Paris 5968.

"Qâḍî Nu'mân", i.e. *Abû Ḥanîfa an-Nu'man b. Abî 'Abd-Allâh* Muḥammad b. Manṣûr b. Aḥmad b. Ḥayyûn at-Tamîmî al-Qayrawânî, d. 29 Jum. II 363/27—iii—974 (*'Uyûn VI*). He was the chief, "classic", exponent of the *Ẓâhir* element in Ismailism which always had priority over the esoteric doctrine, and therefore occupies quite an exceptional position in the history of Ismaili literature. As a young man he joined the service of the Fatimids under al-Mahdî in 313/925. For details of his biography, ancestors and descendants, see the article by A.A.A.Fyzee in the JRAS, 1934, pp. 1—32. Whether he was originally a Malikî, or Ithna-'ashari (which, perhaps, may be more likely), and when he was converted to Ismailism, cannot be ascertained without special research. Anyhow, experts in Ithna-'ashari theology always claimed him as one of their own, regarded his main work, the *Da'â'im al-Islâm* as one of the 14 of their "classics", and even advanced a theory that it was composed in reality by Ibn Bâbûya (d. 381 or 391/991 or 1001). They explain Ismaili elements in his works as incorporated for the sake of *taqiyya*. Anyhow, this work has unique distinction of being in use now for almost exactly 1000 years. He was a prolific author, but a greater part of his works have been lost.

(**64**) *Da'â'im al-Islâm* (*fî dhikr al-ḥalâl wa'l-ḥarâm wa'l-qaḍâyâ wa'l-aḥkâm*), in two vols. It was edited by A. Fyzee (Cairo, 1952—1962). The work really very closely resembles an Ithna-'ashari treatise of its kind, the only substantial difference at first sight being in the opening book, on *walâyat* instead of the usual *kitâb at-tawḥîd*. This *kitâb al-walâyat* is a really good summary of what most probably was the basic ideas of the religion under the early Fatimids. It is still much admired by the Musta'lians of India, and well deserves a good translation. The *Da'â'im al-Islâm* is connected with several auxiliary works which are also regarded to be by *Qâḍî Nu'mân*.

(**65**) *Mukhtaṣar al-âthâr* (or *Ikhtiṣâr al-âthâr*). An abridgment of the preceding, omitting the initial *K. al-walâyat* of the *Da'â'im*, opening straight with *K. aṭ-Ṭahârat*. There is something strange in it: according to tradition, the *Da'â'im* was compiled under the order of Imam al-Mu'izz *bi'l-lâh* who ascended the

throne in 341/953. And in the introduction to the *Mukhtaṣar* it is stated that it was compiled in 348/959, and 'Alî b. Nu'mân was permitted to teach it (as is stated in A.Fyzee's article, p. 25). The dates, if true, show a surprisingly quick tempo in literary activity of the time. Is not the name of Imam al-Mu'izz in this connection "symbolical"?

(**66**) *Ta'wîl ad-Da'â'im* (as it is commonly called, the full title being *Tarbiyat al-mu'minîn bi't-tawfîq 'alâ ḥudûd bâṭin 'ilm ad-dîn fî ta'wîl Da'â'im al-Islâm*), dealing with the inner meaning, i.e. esoteric implications, of the text of the *Da'â'im al-Islâm*. According to the *'Uyûn* (as mentioned by A.A.A.Fyzee, op. cit.) it was divided into 12 *juz's*, each *juz'* composed of ten *majlises*, but it seems that only first six *juz's* are preserved. Neither the *juz's* nor *majlises* have titles explaining their contents (usually: *majlis ... th* of the *juz' ... th*), but here and there in the middle of *majlises* there are headings, apparently corresponding with those in the *Da'â'im*. There is very little at the beginning on *îmân*, and practically the whole of the bulky volume deals with two subjects, namely *ṭahârat* and *ṣalât*. Strangely, after the opening three lines of pious invocations, the author says: *qad sama'tum... fî-mâ taqaddam...*, implying that this is not the beginning of the whole book. It would be also interesting to find out whether references are to the *Da'â'im* directly, or to the *Mukhtaṣar al-âthâr*. It may be noted that references to the *Da'â'im* are apparently never in the first person, "as I said in...", but always impersonal: "as said in..." Does it mean that it is in reality a work by some one else? Although I am no authority in such matters, it seems to me that the style of the book is like that of the books of the Neo-Yamanite period, when exactly all kinds of *majlises* were the fashion of the day. It would be interesting to discover reliable indications of its being the work of Qâḍî Nu'mân himself, as the tradition believes it to be.

(**67**) *al-Yanbû'*, another work on *fiqh* ascribed to the authorship of Qâḍî Nu'mân. It is only concerned with the matters dealt with in the second vol. of the *Da'â'im*, although not coinciding with the text of it. It is considered as of great authority, propped up by probably legendary references to Imam al-Mu'izz.

(68) *K. al-Ikhbâr*, said to be an abridgment of *Kitâb al-Îḍâḥ* which itself is lost. It is divided into 13 *ajzâ'*. Copies of it are very rare.

(69) *al-Iqtiṣâr*, another well-known work on *fiqh*, in two volumes, an abridgment of the *Ikhbâr*.

(70) *al-Qaṣîdat al-Muntakhaba*, a kind of a versified conspectus of legal rules, sometimes simply called *Urjûza*.

(71) *Kitâb yawm wa layla*, on prayers to be said in day and in night time.

(72) *Kitâb aṭ-Ṭahârat*, on ritual ablutions and prayers.

(73) *Ikhtilâf Uṣûl al-Madhâhib*, written in a very evasive style in which the author does not mention the *madhhab* which he discusses, and leaves it to the reader to guess it. A strange manner for a jurist of high standing who should be accustomed to precise formulation of the case. Perhaps the work was "diplomatized" in later revisions. A suspicious detail is the advertisement of the work as being approved by several successive Imams (which ?)

(74) *ar-Risâla Dhât al-bayân fî'r-radd 'alâ Ibn Qutayba*, incomplete.

(75) *Asâs at-Ta'wîl*, revealing the "inner sense" of the dogma of *walâya*, apparently with particular regard to the first book of the *Da'â'im*. It was, as testified by tradition, translated into Persian by Sayyid-nâ al-Mu'ayyad fî'd-dîn ash-Shîrâzî (d.470/1077). I incidentally saw a copy of that supposed translation, but its language was quite modern, the impression being that it was the work of an Indian. It would be very interesting indeed to find a really old copy of the translation. Cf. no. 169.

(76) *Iftitâḥ ad-da'wa wa ibtidâ' ad-dawla*, comp. in 346/957. A history of the beginning of the Fatimid caliphate. It was obviously composed during that period in which, according to Ibn Nadîm, Ismaili works were freely circulated to outside world, and were written for this purpose. In fact it appears that all historians dealing with the subject invariably used it as the source of their information, so that the original work does not contain anything substantially new. Copies of it are very common.

(77) *al-Manâqib wa'l-Mathâlib*, or *Manâqib banî Hâshim wa Mathâlib banî Umayya*, in two volumes, sometimes giving interesting information, in strongly Shi'ite colouring, concerning outstanding early Alids and the alleged impiety of the Umayyads. It is also sometimes called *al-Manâqib li-ahl bayt Rasûl Allâh*.

(78) *Sharḥ al-Akhbâr*, as it is usually called, or, with its full title, the *Sharḥ al-Akhbâr fî faḍâ'il an-Nabiyyi'l-Mukhtâr wa âli'l-Muṣṭafîn al-akhyâr mina'l-A'immat al-aṭhâr*, in 16 *juz's*. An interesting and important work because its historical information is sometimes derived from the sources which no longer exist. The *ajzâ'* deal with: 1.*'ilm* and other supreme faculties of the Imam; 2. 'Alî was the first to embrace Islam; 3. *jihâds* of 'Alî; 4. his wars against heretics; 5. on heretics who opposed 'Alî; 6. his war against Mu'âwiya; 7. a refutation of the *Ḥashwiyya* who extol the first caliphs; 8. Divine *amr* to obey 'Alî and his successors; the supreme wisdom of 'Alî; 9. Revelation of the Coran concerning 'Alî and the Imams; 10. on the virtues of 'Alî and the promises of the Prophet to enter Paradise to all who follow him; 11. on revelations concerning the *ahl al-Bayt*; 12. on the virtues of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn; 13. the story of Ḥasan, his death by poison, and the story of Ḥusayn; 14. Imam Ja'far b. Muḥammad, his son Ismâ'îl and grandson Muḥammad, the *mastûrîn* Imams; Messianic movements and Shi'ite sects of the time; 15. the preaching of al-Mahdî and his miracles; 16. *faḍâ'il* of the Shi'ites (*Shî'at 'Alî*). The most interesting seems to be the *juz'* 14, the information contained in it has been systematized in my paper "Early Shi'ite Movements" in JBBRAS, 1941, pp.1—23.

(79) *al-Majâlis wa'l-musâyarât wa'l-mawâqif wa't-tawqî'ât*, the author's interviews with Imam al-Mu'izz, dealing with various religious questions, tradition, etc., of rather encyclopaedic nature.

(80) *Kitâb al-Himma fi âdâb atbâ' al-A'imma*, dealing with the beliefs, principles and rules of behaviour, religious, social, financial (as in paying religious taxes), duties of the followers of Imams to them, the etiquette to be observed in personal contacts with them, etc. In other words, what should an Ideal Ismaili know. The work furnishes very valuable sidelights on Ismailism in life as it was under the earlier Fatimids. It would form a very interesting continuation to an essay (in Russian) by the late Dr. C. Inostrantsev, "A Ceremonial ride out of the Fatimid caliph'" (St. Petersburg, 1905), based on various general histori-

cal works, such as by Maqrîzî, Ibn Taghribirdî, etc. The book was edited, with an introduction, by the lalte M.Kamil Hussein, Cairo, 1948.

(**81**) *Mafâtîḥ an-Ni'ma fî dhikr imtiḥân al-khalq fî anfusi-him wa amwâli-him*, not mentioned in the *'Uyûn*. It is a pamphlet of 56 pages, on the necessity to obey the Imams and their financial demands, in accordance with the verse of the Coran ix,11. It is an answer to the inquiry of a certain Abû'l-Ḥasan al-Baghdâdî, whom the author calls *akhû-nâ*.

(**82**) *Ta'wîl ar-ru'yâ*, interpretation of a certain dream of the Imam al-Mu'izz. According to Dr. P. Kraus in his review, in the 'Uyûn VI, in which a dream of al-Mu'izz is mentioned, and the present work is quoted, it is called *Kitâb muwâzât at-ta'wîl li-ta'bîr ar-ru'yâ*.

Works which have been lost:

(**83**) *Kitâb al-Îḍâḥ*, a large compendium of *fiqh* (perhaps of the type of *al-Kâfî fî 'ilmi'd-dîn* by Kulînî) which included all the relevant *ḥadîths* with their *isnâds*. (From time to time news comes from Syria that a copy of this *Îḍâḥ* is still preserved by the local Ismailis, non-Aghakhani Nizaris. Sometimes a book is produced, with the title *al-Îḍâḥ fî* . . . I have seen two such *îḍâḥs*, but both had nothing in common with the work of Qâḍî Nu'mân except for the first word in its title.

(**84**) *Ikhtiṣâr al-Îḍâḥ*, an abbreviation of the preceding.

(**85**) *Kitâb al-Ittifâq wa'l-Iftirâq*, a work in 40 chapters (*juz's*) on differences between the legal opinion of different schools of Islam and of the Imams.

(**86**) *Kitâb al-Muqtaṣir*, an abbreviation of the preceding work.

(**87**) *Kayfiyyat aṣ-ṣalât*, controversial discussion of the rules of prayer in various schools of Islam.

(**88**) *Minhâj al-farâ'iḍ*, on the law of inheritance, not mentioned in the *'Uyûn*.

(**89**) *al-Miṣriyya fî Radd 'alâ'sh-Shâfi'î*, on controversy against Sunnism.

(**90**) *Ar-Radd 'alâ Aḥmad b. Shurayḥ* (or *Surayj*) *al-Baghdâdî*.

(**91**) *Dâmigh al-Mûjiz fî'r-radd 'alâ'l-'Atakî* (*'Itakî, Fatakî?*).

(**92**) *Nahj as-Sabîl ilâ ma'rifat 'ilm at-Ta'wîl*, in two volumes.

(**93**) *Ḥudûd al-ma'rifat fî tafsîr al-Qur'ân wa't-Tanbîh 'alâ't-Ta'wîl*.

(**94**) *Kitâb fî'l-Imâmat*, in four volumes.

(**95**) *at-Ta'âqub* (or *ta'aqqub*) *wa'l-Intiqâd*.

(**96**) *Kitâb ad-du'â*.

(**97**) *Kitâb al-Ḥulâ wa'th-Thiyâb*.

(**98**) *Kitâb ash-Shurûṭ*.

(**99**) *Dhât al-Minan* (*qaṣîda*).

(**100**) *Dhât al-Miḥan* (versified), on Mukhlad, the leader of the Berber Kharijite uprising against the Fatimids.

(**101**) *Ma'âlim al-Mahdî*.

(**102**) *ar-Risâla ilâ'l-Murshid ad-Dâ'î bi-Miṣr fî Tarbiyat al-mu'minîn*.

(**103**) *Manâmât al-A'imma*.

(**104**) *al-Taqrî' wa't-Ta'nîf*.

(**105**) *Asâs an-Nuṭaqâ*, not mentioned either in the *'Uyûn*, nor in F., but quoted as Qâḍî Nu'mân's work in the *Lubb al-ma'ârif* of 'Alî b. Muḥammad b. al-Walîd (cf. no. 245). Is this merely a lapsus calami for *Asâs at-Ta'wîl*?

Works which are supposed, apparently quite baselessly, to be by Qâḍî Nu'mân:

(**106**) *Taqwîm al-aḥkam*, apparently a comparatively modern work on legal matters.

(**107**) *ar-Râḥat wa't-tasallî*, an opuscule divided into seven *faṣls*: 1. *quwwat al-istiṭâ'at*; 2. *kayfiyyat al-waḥy*; 3. *ibrâz al-khalq*; 4. *al-farq bayna'l-khâliq wa'l-makhlûq*; 5. *ma'rifat muḥtâj ilâ'l-makân*; 6. *ma'rifat thawâb al-'aql wa 'iqâbi-hi*; 7. *fî ma'rifati-ka bi-hi 'alâ'l-kamâl wa intiqâli-ka ilay-hi*.

Ibn Hânî, i. e. Abû'l-Qâsim Muḥammad b. Hânî al-Andalusî al-Azdî, born in Seville, served under the Imams al-Manṣûr and al-Mu'izz in N. Africa, and was killed in Barqa in 362/973.

(**108**) *Dîwân* of poems in praise of the Fatimids, was repeatedly lithographed and printed, cf. B–I, 91 and BS–I, 146–147. Several poems have been translated by R. P. Dewhurst,"Abû Tammâm and Ibn Hânî", in JRAS, 1926.

Tamîm b. Ma'add, the second son of Imam al-Mu'izz, born in 337/948, d. in 374/984.

(**109**) *Dîwân* of poems in praise of al-Mu'izz and al-'Azîz, cf. B–I, 91 and BS–I, 147. Copies of his *Dîwân* appear to be rare. Ms. Leyden, 634.

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al-Manṣûr al-Jawdharî, Abû 'Alî al-'Azîzî, a secretary of Ustâdh Jawdhar, a eunuch inspector of palaces under al-Mu'izz.

(**110**) *Sîrat Ustâdh Jawdhar*, said to be written by him at the dictation of his master himself. Edited by M. Kamil Hussein and Dr. M. 'Abd el-Hâdî Sha'îra, Cairo, 1954.

Ya'qûb al-Wazîr b. Yûsuf b. Killis, a Fatimid official, d. 4 Dhû'l-ḥijja 380/22–2–991.

(**111**) *Mansak al-ḥajj al-Kabîr*.

(**112**) *Kitâb al-fiqh*, also called *Muṣannaf al-Wazîr* (in *'Uyûn* VI).

Muḥammad b. Zayd, a *dâ'î* under al-'Azîz (365–386/975–996).

(**113**) *Kitâb al-Balâgh*. Not seen by the author of F. Copies of it are rare.

Ḥasan (or Muḥsin) *b. Muḥammad al-Mahîdî* (or Yahdhî, or Mayhadhî, etc., hopelessly corrupted), a *dâ'î* of the time of Imam al-'Azîz. From his work it follows that he tried to preach in Ray, but was met with hostility, escaped, and wrote his epistle which is an excellent summary of the beliefs of Fatimid headquarters.

(**114**) *Risâlat ilâ jamâ'at ahl Ray*, included in the *Majmû' at-tarbiyat*, ii, and *al-Azhâr*, iii. Discussed in W. Ivanow's "Studies in Early Persian Ismailism", second ed., Bombay, 1955, article "Tenth Century Ismaili Da'i in Persia" (pp. 123–140).

Ibn Zûlâq, i. e. Abû Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Ibrâhîm Ibn Zûlâq al-Laythî *al-faqîh*, d. 387/998.

(**115**) *Sîrat al-Qâ'id Jawhar*, apparently an extract from his larger work, *Akhbâr ad-Dawlat al-Mu'izziyya*, cf. BS–I, 230.

Aḥmad b. Ibrâhîm (or Muḥammad) *an Naysâbûrî*, flourished under al-'Azîz and al-Ḥâkim, i. e. towards the end of the fourth/tenth c., and the beginning of the next. Practically nothing is known about him and the country in which he was writing.

(**116**) *Ithbât al-Imâmat*, a popular booklet, subdivided into *faṣls* without numeration or headings.

(**117**) *Istitâr al-Imâm 'Abd Allâh b. Muḥammad wa tafarruq ad-du'ât fî'l-jazâ'ir li-ṭalabi-hi wa istiqâmati-hi*, based on legend. The text edited by W. Ivanow (together with the *Sîrat Ja'far al-Ḥâjib*) in the "Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts", Egyptian University, 1936 (issued in 1939), pp. 93–133, and translated in W. Ivanow's "Rise of the Fatimids" (Bombay, 1942) pp. 157–183. Translated into Gujrati by Ghulâm 'Alî b. Ismâ'îl under the title of *Kashf az-zalâm fî tarjumat Istitâr al-Imâm* (lith. Bombay, 1334/1916).

(**118**) *al-Mûjizat al-kâfiya fî âdâb* (or *shurût*) *ad-da'wat wa'l-ḥudûd*, an interestiug work, apparently lost. It is quoted in the *Tuḥfat al-qulûb* (no. 216) and *Azhâr*, ii.

(**119**) *az-Zâhira fî ma'rifat ad-dâr al-âkhira*, on eschatology, divided into seven *bâbs*: 1. on *qabr*; 2. *munkar wa nakîr*; 4.? 5. *rawḍa*; 6. *ḥaḍra*; 7. *Jannat wa'n-Nâr*.

Abû'l-Fawâris Aḥmad b. Ya'qûb, a Syrian *dâ'î* under al-Ḥâkim.

(**120**) *ar-Risâla fî'l-Imâmat*, in sixteen questions and answers concerning Imamat. Included in MT ii. Details in no. 205 (32).

al-Ḥusayn b. ʿÂmir, flourished under al-Ḥâkim.

(**121**) *Dîwân* of poetry.

(**122**) *Urjûza*, a versified treatise on elements of religion.

Zayd b. Muḥammad b. Faḍl, flourished under al-Ḥâkim.

(**123**) *al-Maknûna*, in two *juz's:* 1. the *ta'wîl* of verses of the Coran to prove the dogma that the earth cannot remain without the Imam even for a single moment; the Iblîses of every *Nâṭiq*, their number in the Coran; ʿAlî replies to 38 questions; 2. *ta'wîl*; symbolism of human body; *qiyâs; athar rûḥ; laylat al-qadr; nafs; rûḥ al-Imâm; rûḥ al-quds; fardâniyyat;* explanation of several verses of the Coran.

Sayyid-nâ Ḥamîd ad-dîn Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allâh al-Kirmânî, apparently the most learned and talented Ismaili author of the Fatimid period. He is always given the title of *ḥujjat al-ʿIrâqayn*, i. e. the chief *dâʿî* of both ʿIrâqs (i.e. *al-ʿIrâq al-ʿArabî* and *al-Irâq al-ʿAjamî*, or Mesopotamia and N. W. Iran, – not Fârs, as stated by some scholars). He *probably* was a Persian, and surely had some connections with Kirmân, as may be seen from his epistles *al-Ḥâwiya*, dated 399/1009, and *al-Kâfiya*. The exact date of his death has not been preserved. The latest definite date mentioned in his works is that of the completion of *al-Wâʿiẓa*, 408/1017. In the *Râḥat al-ʿaql* (p. 20 of the edition), in what undoubtedly is an appendix by some one else, it is stated that he composed his *Tanbîh al-hâdî wa'l-mustahdî* in ʿIrâq in 411/1021. In his introduction to his edition of *ar-Risâlat ad-Durriyya* Dr. M. Kamil Hussein comes to the conclusion (p. 7) that Ḥamîdu'd-dîn was still alive in 412/1021.

It is impossible to ascertain the chronological sequence of his works because very often it is beyond doubt that the titles of his later compositions were inserted by copyists into his earlier works. Thus we find in the *Râḥat al-ʿAql* (p. 364) a reference to *ar-Riyâḍ*, and in the latter a reference to the *Râḥat al-ʿaql*. It will probably be possible to get an idea of such sequence

only when all his extant works are properly studied. He was a prolific author, and although many of his works are lost, a number still exists. As usual, several works, supposed to be by him, are definitely doubtful.

(**124**) *Râḥat al-ʿaql*, in two vols. Copies of it are common, but the author of F. says he had not seen it. It has been edited by Dr. M. Kamil Hussein (in collaboration with Dr. M. Hilmy) and published in the series "C", no. 1, of the Ismaili Society, in 1953.

(**125**) *al-Maṣâbîḥ fî ithbât al-Imâmat*, an introduction to the dogma of Imamat, in two *maqâlas* divided into 14 *miṣbâḥs*, subdivided into *burhâns*, 105 altogether. The first *maqâla* deals with the usual proofs of the existence of a Creator, *nafs*, punishment, law (*sharâʾiʿ*), *ta'wîl*, necessity of prophets. The second *maqâla* is devoted to the doctrine of Imamat, in 7 *miṣbâḥs*: the *ʿiṣmat* of the Imam, impossibility of his being elected, or succeeding without a *naṣṣ*. The Imamat of Ismâʿîl b. Jaʿfar and his descendants, Imamat of al-Ḥâkim. Extracts published by Dr.P.Kraus in "Der Islam", XIX, 245 sq.

(**126**) *Maʿâṣim al-hudâ wa'l-iṣâba fî tafḍîl ʿAlî ʿalâ'ṣ-ṣaḥâba*, polemic with al-Jâḥiẓ on the subject of ʿAlî's superiority over the first three caliphs. Only the second half of the original book is preserved. In all copies which I saw it is stated that it was only the "second half", and the text opens with the *faṣl* 31 of the third *bâb*. It is divided into five *bâbs*, the first two being lost. The fourth *bâb* (*16 faṣls*) *fî mâ ishtarak fî-hi Abû Bakr wa ʿAlî min al-faḍâ'il*, etc. The fourth *bâb* (*4 fâṣls*) *fî dhikr faḍâ'il Abî-Bakr wa mâ la-hu mina'l-khiṭwat wa'l-kirâmat*, etc. In the copies that I saw, in the colophon, blessings are invoked upon Abû ʿAlî al-Manṣûr al-Âmir. As Âmir had the same name as al-Ḥâkim (Abû ʿAlî al-Manṣûr), it is obvious that copyists "corrected" the original version, and the error remained in some copies. The book is not referred to in the *Râḥat al-ʿaql*. The work of al-Jâḥiẓ which is attacked is his *K. al-ʿUthmâniyya*. Cf. BS-I, 325-6.

(**127**) *Tanbîh al-hâdî wa'l-mustahdî*, composed, according to the *Râḥat al-ʿaql*, 20, as we have seen (p. 40), in 411/1021 (to be verified). It is divided into 28 *bâbs*, altogether in 196 *fâṣls* (extracts in *Azhâr* iv). Contains interesting polemics with Zaydîs,

Ithna-'asharîs, Ghulât, etc. It chiefly deals with religious and ethical matters and *ta'wîl* interpretations.

(**128**) *al-Aqwâl adh-dhahabiyya*, defence of Abû Ḥâtim ar-Râzî (who is called *ṣâḥib ad-da'wat bi-jazîrat ar-Ray fî ayâm Mardâwîj*, the Ziyârid prince of Jurjân, 316-323/928-935), in his book *A'lâm an-Nubuwwat* (no. 30) against the famous early philosopher Rhazes, Abû Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyâ ar-Râzî (d. 313/925), in his book *aṭ-Ṭibb ar-Rûḥânî* (cf. B–I, 235, BS–I, 420). It is divided into *qawls*, i.e. quotations from different parts of Rhazes' book which are discussed at length. The author's own work, *Kitâb fî Iklîl an-nafs wa tâji-hâ*, is referred to at the beginning.

(**129**) *Ma'âlim ad-dîn*, or *ar-Risâlat al-Waḍiyya* (often referred to in the *Râḥat al-'aql:* pp. 22, 208, 265, 342, 353, 360), divided into two *maqâlas*, the first dealing with *al-'ibâdat al-'ilmiyya*, in 17 *faṣls*, the second, in 8 *faṣls*, dealing with *al-'ibâdat al-'amaliyya*, forms of worship, *akhlâq* and other instructive topics. In the text itself the title is given in the form of *ar-Risâlat al-Waḍiyya fî Ma'âlim ad-dîn*.

(**130**) *ar-Riyâḍ*, as it is simply called and referred to, with the full title *Kitâb ar-Riyâḍ fî ḥukm bayn ash-shaykhayn, Abî Ḥâtim ar-Râzî wa Abî Ya'qûb as-Sijzî fî mâ'khtalafâ fî-hi*, or *K. ar-Riyâḍ bayn ash-shaykhayn*. It is a criticism of Abû Ya'qûb Sijzî's *Kitâb an-Nuṣra* (no. 46 above) which is directed against Abû Ḥâtim ar-Râzî's *K. al-Iṣlâḥ* (no. 29) composed to correct certain statements in the *K. al-Maḥṣûl* (by an-Nakhshabî?) For a detailed analysis of this work see my "Studies in Early Persian Ismailism", pp. 87-122, "An Early Controversy in Ismailism". The *Riyâḍ* contains many quotations from *al-Maḥṣûl* and *an-Nuṣra*, both of which are lost. It is divided into ten *bâbs*, subdivided into 157 *faṣls*.

The text of the *Riyâḍ* has been printed in Beirut by a publishing firm, in 1960, with a misleading preface.

(**131**) *Faṣl al-khiṭâb wa ibânat al-ḥaqq al-mutajallî 'ani'l-irtiyâb*, a rare work, very doubtful as to its connection with Ḥamîd ad-dîn.

(**132**) A collection of "13 *risâlas*", *ar-Rasâ'il ath-Thalâth al-'ashara*, of which 11 belong to Ḥamîd ad-dîn, and two by others are, for some reason, added.

(**133**) *ad-Durriyya fî ma'nâ't-tawḥîd*, a short treatise on theosophy, was edited, 1952, by Dr. M. Kamil Hussein, together with the second *risâla* in the set, *R. an-Naẓm*.

(**134**) *Risâlat an-Naẓm fî muqâbalat al-'awâlim*, mentioned just above. It deals with theosophic speculations on cosmogony, the *Mubdi'*, *'Aql*, etc.

(**135**) *ar-Risâlat ar-Raḍiyya*, forming a kind of a continuation of the preceding one, and dealing with the nature of the physical world.

(**136**) *al-Muḍî'a fî'l-amr wa'l-âmir wa'l-ma'mûr*, ref. to in the *Riyâḍ* and *Râḥat* (23, 365), on the Creator, the act of the creation, and the created.

(**137**) *al-Lâzima fî ṣawm shahr Ramaḍân*, on the esoteric meaning of the fasting during the month of Ramaḍân.

(**138**) *ar-Rawḍa fî'l-azal*, ref. to in the *Riyâḍ* and *Râḥat* (23, 60), and included in the *Azhâr*, vii.

(**139**) *az-Ẓâhira*, proving that a certain work is not by Abû Ya'qûb as-Sijzî, as it is believed to be. Divided into six "replies" and six *faṣls*.

(**140**) *al-Ḥâwiya fî'l-layl wa'n-nahâr*, comp. in 399/1009, and sent to the author's lieutenant in Jîruft, a district of the Kerman province, on *ta'wîl*.

(**141**) *Mabâsim al-bishârât*, on Imamat in general and on the Imamat of al-Ḥâkim *bi-amr Allâh* in particular, divided into 14 *faṣls*. An extract was edited by P. Kraus in "Der Islam", vol. XIX, p. 253.

(**142**) *al-Wâ'iẓ* or *ar-Risâlat al-Wâ'iẓa*, ref. to in the *Râḥat* (43, 124). Admonitions and answers to the questions put by an "extremist" al-Ḥasan al-Farghânî b. Ḥaydara. According to S. de Sacy's "Exposé de la Religion des Druzes", vol. I, p. ccccxxxi, in an account based on statements of that notorious liar, an-Nuwayrî, this Farghânî preached divinity of al-Ḥâkim in 409/1018, was encouraged by the latter, but was soon killed by his adversaries, who looted his house. The *Risâla* was composed in Jum. ii 408/Nov. 1017, when apparently the heretic really possessed influence because the tone of the treatise is surprizingly

mild and soliciting. It was edited by Dr. M. Kamil Hussein in the "Bulletin of the Fuad al-Awwal University of Cairo", 1952, the 1-st quarter.

(**143**) *al-Kâfiya fi'r-Radd 'alâ'l-Hârûnî al-Ḥasanî*, comp. in Cairo, and sent to the author's lieutenant, 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad al-Mâzinî, in Kirmân. It was an answer to the latter's inquiry concerning the controversial statements in the book (*Siyâsat al-murtadîn*? cf. B–I, 186, BS–I, 318) written by the Zaydî Imam, Abû'l-Ḥusayn al-Mu'ayyad bi'l-lâh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hârûn al-Buṭḥânî al-Hârûnî (born 333/944, d. 411/1020). He refuted al-Ḥâkim's claims to Imamat, and quoted that obvious fake, *K. al-Balâgh al-Akbar*. Ḥamîd ad-dîn refutes all these, and adds a few *faṣls* criticising the principles of Zaydism in general. Quoted in *Azhâr*, vii. Cf. also W. Ivanow, "The Rise of the Fatimids", Bombay, 1942, p. 142 sqq. It is interesting to note that in this treatise Ḥamîd ad-dîn refers to his earlier works, *al-Maṣâbîḥ fi ithbât al-Imâmat* (no. 125) and *Tanbîh al-hâdî wa'l-mustahdî*, the latter, according to *Râḥat*, 20, composed in 411/1021.

The collection also contains a short treatise by an anonymous author (*ba'ḍ al-ḥudûd*) of al-Ḥâkim's time:

(**144**) *Khazâ'in al-adilla*, or *Kitâb al-khazâ'in*, on theosophic matters.

The works which are lost, as stated in *'Uyûn*, vi: "not available to us in the Yaman":

(**145**) *Risâlat al-Fihrist*, mentioned in the *Râḥat*, 23, 25, 192.

(**145A**) *R. al-Ma'âd* or, probably *at-Tawḥîd fi'l-Ma'âd*, ref. to in *Riyâḍ*. F. – not seen. Or is it the same as *R. al-Waḥîda fi'l-Ma'âd*? (ref. to in the *Riyâḍ*).

(**146**) *al-Maqâdir wa'l-Ḥadâ'iq* (or is it two works, *al-Maqâdir* and *al-Ḥadâ'iq*?).

(**147**) *Tâj al-'uqûl*, ref. to in *Râḥat*, 313, 319, 421, 436.

(**148**) *Maydân al-'aql*, or should it be *Mîzân al-'aql*, as in *Râḥat*, 364?

(**148A**) *'Âlim ad-dîn*, ref. to in *Râḥat*, 313.

(**149**) *al-Layliyya*, ref. to in *Râḥat*, 123.

(**150**) *an-Nafdh wa'l-ilzâm* (is it the same as the *R. al-Lâzima* above? cf. no. 137).

(**151**) *Iklîl an-nafs* (or *fi'n-nafs*) *wa tâju-hâ*, ref. to in *al-Aqwâl adh-Dhahabiyya* (no. 128).

(**152**) *K. al-Maqâyis (raddan 'alâ'l-ghulât)*, ref. to in the *Râḥat*, 364.

(**153**) *al-Majâlis al-Baghdâdiyya wa'l-Baṣriyya*, ref. to in *Riyâḍ*.

(**154**) *R. ash-Shi'râ*, a treatise on Syrius (star), ref. to in the *Mabâsim al-bishârât*, no. 141.

(**155**) *ar-R. at-Ta'wîliyya* (*fi'l-khawâṣṣ*), ref. to in the *Riyâḍ*.

(**156**) *K. al-Mufâwaz*.

(**157**) *R. al-Ma'ârij*.

It is quite possible that a study of the extant works by Ḥamîd ad-dîn will reveal more titles of his lost treatises, referred to in the text.

Abû 'Abd Allâh Muḥammad b. Salâma b. Ja'far b. 'Alî b. Ḥakmûn al-Quḍâ'î, d. in Dh. Q. 454/Nov. 1062, cf. B–I, 343 and BS–I, 584–5. He was a Shâfi'ite *qâḍî* under aẓ-Ẓâhir and al-Mustanṣir. Two of his works (mentioned in B–I) were accepted as useful by the Ismailis and are still in use in the community:

(**158**) *K. ash-Shihâb an-Nabawî*, or *Shihâb al-akhbâr fi'l-ḥikam*, several times lithographed in India, a well-known work on tradition. Cf. B–I, 343, 361.

(**159**) *Dustûr ma'âlim al-ḥikam wa ma'thûr makârim ash-shi'am*, also on tradition, divided into nine *bâbs*. Cf. BS–I, 585, 938 (75).

Sayyid-nâ al-Mu'ayyad fi'd-dîn Abû Naṣr Hibat Allâh b. al-Ḥusayn (or *Mûsâ*) *b. 'Alî b. Muḥammad ash-Shîrâzî as-Salmânî*, who occupied the post of the *bâb* under al-Mustanṣir *bi'l-lâh*. He arrived in Cairo from Persia in the same year as did Nâṣir-i Khusraw, 439/1047, and died there in 470/1077. His earlier life is summed up in his autobiography, *Sîrat Sayyidi-nâ al-Mu'ayyad*

fî'd-dîn which preserves many interesting details of the history of the Saljuq invasion and subjugation of the Buyid state. He was a Persian landlord of Shîrâz and Ahwâz in Khûzistân, a highly educated theologian, an influential member of the Daylam, i. e. Persian Shi'ite party at the court of the Buyid ruler of Fars 'Imâd ad-dîn Abû Kalinjar Marzbân (415–440/1024–1048). When ousted by the advancing Saljuqs and the "fifth columnists", the Atrâk, their supporters, he fled to Baghdad and thence to Cairo where was received with great honours.

(**160**) *Majâlis*, or, as they are commonly called, *Mi'ât*, "hundreds", because of being arranged in eight volumes containing 100 each. They are still much admired, both as regards contents and literary style, but it is very difficult to get a complete set of eight volumes in a private collection. The compendium includes many of his minor works. The text of those *majlises* which contain a refutation of *K. az-Zumurrudh* by ar-Râwandî (BS–I, 341) was edited by Dr. P. Kraus in the "Revista degli Studi Orientali", XIV, 93–129, 331–379. The contents of the *Majâlis* was systematically re-arranged under 18 *bâbs* according to the subjects dealt with, by Ḥâtim b. Ibrâhîm, the third Yamanite *dâ'î*, under tho title *Jâmi' al-ḥaqâ'iq* (no. 214), discussed further on. Extracts in the third vol. of *Azhâr*, of the *Munâẓarât* between the author and Abû'l-'Alâ al-Ma'arrî.

(**161**) *Dîvân* of poems in praise of the Fatimids. At the end several poems supposed to be by the Imams aẓ-Ẓâhir, al-Ḥâkim and al-Mustanṣir are given. Edited by Dr. M. Kamil Hussein, Cairo, 1949.

(**162**) *Sîrat al-Mu'ayyad fî'd-dîn*, mentioned above, also called *as-Sîrat al-Mu'ayyadiyya*, edited by Dr. M. Kamil Hussein, Cairo, 1949. It is brought up to the period of the activities of al-Basâsîrî (d. 451/1060).

(**163**) *al-Majâlis al-Mustanṣiriyya*, summing up the discussions held at several preaching audiences of the Imam. A work under the same title, containing 35 *majlises*, which was edited by Dr.M. Kamil Hussein, Cairo, 1947, as the learned editor tries to prove in his introduction, is by another author, *not* al-Mu'ayyad *fî'd-dîn*. He is a certain anonymous *dâ'î* who is called *"Thiqqat al-Imâm 'Âlim al-Islâm"*. Surely, al-Mu'ayyad, as he apears to us in the Fatimid tradition, would not be disqualified for such honorary "pen-name" by his admirers. I have seen several copies of this book, and could never get any decisive information from inquiries amongst the learned Bohoras whom I met.

(**164**) *Sharḥ al-Ma'âd*, on resurrection in flesh.

(**165**) *Ta'wîl al-arwâḥ*.

(**166**) *al-Iskandariyya*, a *qaṣîda*, also called *Dhât ad-dawḥat*.

(**167**) *Nahj al-'ibâdat (?)* Or is it *Nahj al-Hidâyat li'l-Muhtadîn?*

(**167A**) *al-Îḍâḥ wa't-tabṣîr fî faḍl yawm al-Ghadîr*, which sometimes is regarded the same as the work by 'Alî b. Muḥammad b. al-Walîd, under the title of *al-Îḍâḥ wa't-tafṣîr fî ma'nâ yawm Ghadîr*, cf. no. 249.

(**168**) *al-Iblîdâ' wa'l-Intihâ'*, an apparently popular treatise on eschatology, dealing with *ibdâ'*, *'aql*, *nafs*, *al-Qâ'im* (i. e. *Mahdî*) and all that is connected with the belief about him, potential and actual angels (*al-malâ'ika bi'l-quwwat wa bi'l-fi'l*), and the return of the soul into the abode from which it came (*rujû' an-nafs ilâ mâ min-hu bada'at*).

(**169**) The only known *Persian* work by al-Mu'ayyad, supposed to be preserved till now, is his translation of Qâḍî Nu'mân's *Asâs at-Ta'wîl* which, by tradition, he prepared for his patron, the Buyid prince Abû Kalînjar Marzbân, mentioned above. Cf. under *Qâḍî Nu'mân*, no. 75. As has been mentioned above, the only copy, from Hyderabad, which I saw, was a disappointment. Its language could not be that of the XI c. A.D. It was modern *Indian* Persian, of about a hundred years or so. I could never ascertain the source of the information about that translation, and it would not be impossible that it arose fairly late in India, and has no historical foundation.

Anonymous author of al-Mustanṣir's time.

(**170**) *al-Mas'ala wa'l-jawâb*, sometimes attributed to Sayyidnâ Ḥamîd ad-dîn al-Kirmânî, and sometimes to 'Alî b. Muḥammad

aṣ-Ṣulayḥî. It would be interesting to find out whether it has anything to do with *al-Masâ'il as-Sab'ûn li'l-Mu'ayyad ash-Shîrâzî* (in a private collection). Apparently only the second *juz'* is preserved. I saw only its beginning. The first *mas'ala* is *'an mawjûd fî fawâti-hi wa ḥayy fî mamâti-hi*, etc. The opuscule is bound with another work, defective at the beginning and the end, written in the same handwriting, which does not seem to be the remnants of the first *juz'*. In fact, it looks like an extract from the encyclopaedia of *Ikhwân aṣ-ṣafâ*, and uses, as that work, the formula of address: *yâ âkhî ayyada-ka Allâh wa iyya-nâ bi-rûḥ min-hu*. It often uses the expression *al-'ibâdat al-filsufiyya*, etc. The first question is about *Âdam al-Kullî wa zawjatu-hu wa Iblîs*, etc. The second is on *Âdam al-Juz'î*, etc. The work is referred to in the *Kanz al-Walad* by Ibrâhîm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥâmidî (d. 557/1162): *Kitâb al-Mas'ala wa'l-Jawâb yujânis bi-hi kalâm Sayyidi-nâ Ḥamîd ad-dîn musâ'idan muḥaqqiqan bi-anna'n-nafs* . . . etc. This may be a proof that the work is not by Ḥamîd ad-dîn.

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al-Mukarram b. 'Alî b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣulayḥî, d. *ca.* 477/1084.

(**171**) *Ḥadâthat al-arwâḥ* (?) F. not seen.

Shahriyâr b. al-Ḥasan, a *dâ'î* in Fârs and Kirmân, under al-Mustanṣir *bi'l-lâh*. One of his works, *R. fî ma'nâ qawl Allâh*, etc. is a reply to *as-sulṭân al-ajall as-sayyid* Abû'l-Mundhir 'Âmir b. Sulaymân b. 'Abdi'l-lâh b. Ayyûb az-Zawwâjî, one of the tribal chiefs in the Yaman, d. 492/1099 (according to *'Uyûn* vii).

(**172**) *ar-R. fî Ma'nâ qawl Allâh "in-nâ fataḥnâ la-ka fatḥan mubînan"*, in reply to a question put by the above-mentioned 'Âmir, and giving a *ta'wîl* of the verse.

(**173**) *ar-R. fî Radd man yunkir al-'âlam ar-rûḥânî*, usually included in the set of the "13 *risâlas*" of Sayyid-nâ Ḥamîd ad-dîn al-Kirmânî (no. 132).

(**174**) *Qaṣîda*, quoted by Sulaymân b. al-Ḥasan.

Badr al-Jamâlî, an Armenian slave, later on a high official and the chief *dâ'î* under al-Mustanṣir *bi'l-lâh* (since 466/1073), d. 488/1095.

(**175**) *al-Majâlis al-Mustanṣiriyya*, different from the work with the same title mentiond above under the name of al-Mu'ayyad *fî'd-dîn* (no. 163). Unfortunately, no details are given in F.

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al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbûb, a poet of al-Mustanṣir's time.

(**176**) *Dîwân* of poetry in praise of the Fatimids.

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al-Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh, Abû Tamîm Ma'add, the eighth Fatimid Imam (427–487/1036–1094).

(**176A**) *as-Sijillât al-Mustanṣiriyya*, a collection of his epistles, ed. Cairo, 1954, by A. M. Magued ('Abd al-Mun'im Mâjid). Not mentioned in F.

Yaḥyâ b. Mâlik, d. 28 Jum. ii 520/21-7-1126.

(**177**) *Faṣl fî bayân al-arḍ wa mâ 'alay-hâ min ma'din*, etc.

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al-Âmir bi-aḥkâm Allâh, Abû 'Alî al-Manṣûr b. Aḥmad the tenth Fatimid caliph (495–524/1101–1131). Musta'lian sources for some reason, which is never explained, regard the date of his death as two years later, 526/1133.

(**178**) *al-Âmiriyya*, or *al-Hidâyat al-Âmiriyya*, or, in full, *al-Hidâyat al-Âmiriyya li-Mawlâ-nâ al-Âmir fî ithbât Imâmat Mawlâ-nâ al-Musta'lî wa'r-radd 'alâ'n-Nizâriyya*, a short treatise trying, by various sophisms, to prove the rights of al-Musta'lî to Imamat. At the end there is added a section, under the title:

(**179**) *Iqâ' ṣawâ'iq al-irghâm*, containing some epistles in reply to the inquiries by the *dâ'îs* in Syria, who regarded the succession of al-Musta'lî as usurpation. Edited by A.A.A. Fyzee, Bombay, 1938 (Islamic Research Association's series, no. 7).

(**180**) *Iklîla*, quoted in the *Mafâtîḥ al-kunûz* (no. 220). Is this not yet another title for the *Âmiriyya*?

Muḥammad b. ʿAlî b. Abî Yazîd, flourished during al-Âmir's time.

(**181**) *K. al-Maṭbakh (fî'l-mabda' wa'l-maʿâd)*, included in *MT* and *Azhâr* iii.

(**182**) *Diyâʾ al-ʿuqûl*, a well-known work on *ḥaqâʾiq*.

(**183**) *Ashʿâr fî maʿrifat an-nafs*.

Abû'l-Barakât b. Bishr al-Ḥalabî, flourished during al-Âmir's time.

(**184**) *al-Majâlis*, sixty lectures on questions of religion and ethics.

(**185**) *Maʿrifat al-wuṣûl ilâ maʿrifat al-maʿnâ*, by an anonymous author of al-Âmir's time (*baʿḍ al-ḥudûd al-bulaghâ'*). A short treatise on theosophy, divided into several *maqâms*, *bâbs* and *faṣls*. In the copy which I saw space for the headings of chapters was left blank. Poetical quotations by ʿAlî b. Muḥammad al-Kûfî, and others.

(**186**) *Iḥyâʾ marâsim ad-dîn*, by an anonymous author of the beginning of the sixth/twelfth c. It is devoted to the rights of the problematic son of al-Âmir, aṭ-Ṭayyib, to Imamat, and rejection of the pretences of al-Ḥâfiẓ (524-544/1130-1149) who is treated as a usurper. It touches upon many difficult points of the doctrine of the "temporary imams" and the real Imams, and the periods of their occultation: *fî-hâ fawâʾid wa asrâr fî bâb al-istîdâʿ wa'l-istiqrâr wa dhikr al-istitâr*.

III. THE LITERATURE OF THE NEO-YAMANITE PERIOD

al-Khaṭṭâb b. al-Ḥasan (or *al-Ḥusayn*) *b. Abî'l-Ḥuṣûṣ al-Hamdânî*, a *dâʿî* in the Yaman, d. in Ṣafar 533/Oct. 1138. The *Nuzhat al-afkâr*, vol. I, by Idrîs ʿImâd ad-dîn, devotes much space to his pedigree, hostilities against his brother, praises his ascetic habits, and quotes lengthy poems. But nothing is said about his literary activity. The same applies to the *Muntaẓaʿ al-akhbâr*, vol. II.

(**188**) *Kitâb an-nafs*, divided into three *qisms*: 1. *bayân maʿrifat an-nafs*; 2. *faṣl* i: *ẓuhûr an-nafs bi'l-mawḍûʿ*, and *faṣl* ii: *hal hiya'l-mawḍûʿ aw ghayru-hu?* There are also several *faṣls* without headings; 3. *fî'l-qawl ʿalâ wujûd an-nafs li-kamâl ath-thânî*, etc., also divided into *faṣls* without headings. The chief source of the author is the *Râḥat al-ʿaql* by Ḥamîd ad-dîn al-Kirmânî. He also often refers to his own treatise *Munîrat al-baṣâʾir*, just below.

(**189**) *Munîrat al-baṣâʾir*, divided into ten *bâbs*: 1. *tawḥîd*; 2. *Imâmat wa man al-mustaḥaqq la-hâ wa mushâr ilay-hi bi-hâ*; 3. *Nâṭiq*; 4. *Asâsiyyat wa waṣâyat*; 5. *naql wa maʿâd*; 6. *istiḥâla*; 7. *thawâb wa ʿiqâb*; 8. *ʿadl*; 9. *hubûṭ ilâ dâr al-ʿamal*; 10. *ṣuʿûd wa'rtiqâ'*.

(**190**) *ar-R. fî bayân iʿjâz al-Qurʾân*, included in MT ii.

(**191**) *al-Mîmiyya*, a *qaṣîda* in praise of ʿAlî.

(**192**) *an-Naʿîm*, a treatise on *taʾyîd*, *nafs*, *ṭabʿat*, etc. Only a part of it is preserved.

(**193**) *Burhân al-anwâr fî iʿjâz sûrat al-Kawthar*, included in the MT ii. Cf. no. 205 (31).

(**194**) *Dîwân* of poetry containing 25 poems on *tawḥîd*.

(**195**) *Ghâyat al-mawâlîd*, not mentioned in F. A highly suspicious work, cf. my "Rise of the Fatimids", 1942, pp. 20-23, extract, texts, 35-39. It is divided into five *bâbs*: 1. *fî'l-qawl fî ithbât al-ḥujajfî'l-jazâʾir al-ithnâ ʿashar*. *Bâb* II. *fî qawl ʿalâ an-nâsût al-muttaḥid bi-hi al-lâhût*. *Bab* III. *fî'l-qawl ʿalâ hâdhihi al-ḥâdithat wa ithbât aṣ-ṣaḥîḥ min-hâ*. *Bâb* IV. *fî'l-qawl ʿalâ ithbât al-imâmat li'l-*

imâm aṭ-Ṭayyib Abî'l-Qâsim. Bâb V. *fî'l-qawl ʿalâ al-laṭâ'if wa ghâyâti-hâ wa'l-ḥujub al-khamsat wa ẓuhûri-hâ bi-ḥudûdi-hâ wa ẓuhûr al-maqâm bi-jamîʿi-hâ wa ṯajallî al-ghayb bi-hâ.*

The central point in these speculations is the question whether a woman can be a *ḥujjat*, with reference to the theories that Ḥurrat al-Malika, a widow of a Ṣulayḥid tribal headman, can be recognized as a *ḥujjat* of al-Âmir.

Dhuwayb (or *Dhu'ayb*) *b. Mûsâ al-Wâdiʿî*, the first Yamanite *dâʿî*, was appointed (*Muntazaʿ* ii) 12 Shaʿbân 532/25-iv-1138, d. 10 Muḥarram 546/29-iv-1151. There was apparently nothing extraordinary in his activities. (Both the *Nuzhat* i and *Muntazaʿ* ii, say nothing about his books).

(**196**) *Risâlat an-nafs*, an opuscule of the usual *ḥaqâ'iq* type (also, according to F., containing some *fawâ'id, lâ yumkin kitâbalu-hâ*). It is not divided into *bâbs*, but each section is introduced mostly by *wa'ʿlam*, sometimes *faṣl*, or *fa-naqûl*.

(**197**) *ad-Daraj fî maʿrifat al-mawjûdât*, a short treatise on theosophy, included in MT i, no. 205 (17).

Ibrâhîm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥâmidî, the second Yamanite *dâʿî*, d. in Ṣanʿâ on the 16th or 7th Shaʿbân 557/ 31(22)-7-1162. *Nuzhat* i devotes a few lines to him, *Muntazaʿ* ii copies it, both vaguely mention his "books", but no titles are given.

(**198**) *Kanz al-walad* (as it is commonly called), or *Khazînat al-ʿulûm wa'l-fawâ'id*, one of the most secret esoteric works, *kutub al-kibâr*. F.-not seen. Divided into fourteen *bâbs; 1. fî'l-qawl ʿalâ't-tawḥîd min ghayr tashbîh wa lâ taʿṭîl; 2. fî'l-qawl ʿalâ'l-ibdâʿ al-ladhî huwa'l-mubdiʿ al-awwal; 3. fî'l-qawl ʿalâ'l-munbaʿathaym ʿani'l-mubdiʿ al-awwal; 4. fî'l-qawl ʿalâ'l-munbaʿath al-awwal al-qâ'im bi'l-fiʿl wa mâ dhalik al-fiʿl; 5. fî'l-qawl ʿalâ'l-munbaʿath ath-thânî al-qâ'im bi'l-quwwat wa mâ sabab dhalik; 6. fî'l-qawl ʿalâ'l-hayûlâ wa'ṣ-ṣûrat wa mâ humâ fî dhâti-himâ wa mâ sabab takaththufi-himâ wa'mtizâji-himâ; 7. fî'l-qawl ʿalâ ẓuhûr al-mawâlîd ath-thalatha al-maʿdin wa'n-nabât wa'l-ḥayawân; 8. fî'l-qawl ʿalâ ẓuhûr ash-shakhṣ al-basharî awwalan wa fî kull ẓuhûr baʿd waṣfâ' al-kawr; 9. fî'l-qawl ʿalâ ẓuhûr ash-shakhṣ al-fâḍil min taḥt khaṭṭ al-iʿtidâl; 10. fî'l-qawl ʿalâ'l-irtiqâ' wa'ṣ-ṣuʿûd ilâ dâr al-maʿâd in shâ' Allâh Taʿâlâ; 11. fî'l-qawl ʿalâ maʿrifat al-ḥudûd al-ʿulwiyya wa's-sufliyya; 12. fî'l-qawl ʿalâ'l-irtiqâ' fî'd-darjat ilâ'l-Jannat ad-dâniya wa'l-ʿâliya; 13. fî'l-qawl ʿalâ'ttiṣâl al-mustafîd bi'l-mufîd wa'rtiqâ'i-hi ilay-hi wa'ttiṣâli-hi bi-hi; 14. fî'l-qawl ʿalâ'l-ʿadhâb bi-ḥaqîqati-hi wa kayfiyyati-hi.*

The work chiefly consists of quotations from al-Muʾayyad fi'd-dîn, Ḥamîd ad-dîn al-Kirmânî, usually referred to as "*al-Ḥakîm*", Qâdî Nuʿmân, "*ash-Shaykh al-ḥamîd as-Sijistânî*", i. e. Abû Yaʿqûb as-Sijzî, his *Ithbât an-Nubuwwat* (no. 33), (an interesting term is used: *maʿrifat daymûmiyya*), occasionally Jaʿfar b. Manṣûr al-Yaman, as-Sayyid al-Mâlik al-Khaṭṭâb b. al-Ḥusayn, *naḍḍar Allâh wajha-hu, fî Munîrat al-baṣâ'ir* (no. 189); once a certain Ibn Ṣamdûn is referred to (*qâl . . . fî risâlati-hi al-latî aḍâfa-hâ ilâ Manṣûr al-Yaman*). Apparently for the earliest occasion in the Ismaili literature the author often quotes *al-Jâmiʿa*, i.e. the Encyclopaedia of *Ikhwân aṣ-Ṣafâ*, introducing quotations by *qâl ash-Shakhṣ al-Fâḍil ṣâḥib ar-Rasâ'il, naḍḍar Allâh wajha-hu* (which implies the indication that the author of the *Kanz* did not know the name of the author of the Encyclopaedia, and did not regard him as an Imam as has been hinted above, see p. 19).

(**199**) *al-Ibtidâ' wa'l-Intihâ'* an opuscule, composed of one large and several shorter sections each beginning with a *Basmala*.

(**200**) *ash-Sharîfa fî maʿânî'l-laṭîfa*, which is sometimes wrongly attributed to Ibrâhîm b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlî b. Muḥammad b. al-Walîd, the 11th Yamanite *dâʿî*. The booklet was apparently composed before 546/1151, because the first *dâʿî*, Dhu'ayb b. Mûsâ al-Wâdiʿî, who died in that year, is referred to as still alive (*adâm Allâh ʿumra-hu*, etc.), and refers to the stunning effect of the events connected with the death of al-Âmir and what followed it. The author plainly says that his work was based on the works of *Sayyid-nâ* Dhu'ayb. The book deals with the usual theosophic subjects, such as *ibdâʿ*, *ʿaql*, *nafs*, etc., but for the most part concentrates on astrological speculations concerning the influence of different planets on physical and psy-

chical faculties of man, etc. It is divided into many unnumbered *fasls*, of different length. Works of al-Mu'ayyad fî'd-dîn are referred to.

(**201**) *Tis'a wa tis'ûn mas'ala fî'l-haqâ'iq*, sometimes attributed to the namesake of the author, the same Ibrâhîm b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walîd. The work deals with *haqâ'iq* in the usual Yamanite style.

'Alî b. al-Ḥusayn (b. Aḥmad) b. al-Walîd, the cousin of the fifth *dâ'î*, 'Alî b. Muḥammad (b. Aḥmad) b. al-Walîd who died in 612/1216.

(**202**) *R. al-Basmala*, included in MT ii, cf. no. 205 (27).

(**203**) *ar-R. fî'l-baḥth 'alâ'l-firqat an-Nizâriyya*, included in MT ii, quite worthless from the standpoint of history as giving no facts, and containing nothing beyond vague theorising.

(**204**) *Tuḥfat aṭ-ṭâlib wa umniyyat al-bâḥith ar-râghib*, on *mabda' wa'l-ma'âd*, included in MT i, and is sometimes regarded as the work of the 9th *dâ'î* 'Alî b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alî b. Muḥammad b. al-Walîd who died in 682/1284. It is not certain whether it is also called *Risâlat aḍ-Ḍal'*. Cf. no. 205 (24).

Sayyid-nâ Muḥammad b. Ṭâhir b. Ibrâhîm al-Ḥârithî, d. 7 Shaww. 584/29-xi-1188. Practically no details of his biography are given in the *Nuzhat* and *Muntaza'*.

(**205**) *Majmû' at-tarbiyat*, in two vols., the classic chrestomathy of Ismaili literature which served as a model to later works of this type. In his introduction the author says that he has given his book the title *Kitâb al-Jawâhir*, and that it was intended as an introduction (*madkhal*) to what is desirable to be read from the *da'wat* books, collecting in it the cream of "Arab letters and wonderful ideas". The contents of *the first vol.:*

1. Ta'wîl aṣ-ṣalât ẓâhiran wa bâṭinan 'alâ jumlati-hâ. The source is not mentioned, probably by the compiler himself.

2. Dhikr ta'wîl aṣ-ṣalât min Kitâb al-Mas'ala wa'l-Jawâb (the latter by an anonymous author of al-Mustanṣir's time, see above, no. 170).

3. Ta'wîl aṣ-ṣalât min Kitâb ash-Shawâhid wa'l-bayân, by Ja'far b. Manṣûr al-Yaman (see above, no. 16), with an addition by the compiler.

4. Ta'wîl Basmala, in three short *bâbs*.

5. Ta'wîl ash-shahâdat wa muqâbalâtu-hâ li'l-'âlam, perhaps by the compiler himself?

6. Takallum fî'l-jawhar wa'l-'araḍ, condensed from the *Risâlat Tarkîb al-jasad*.

7. Risâlat al-jawharayn (or *al-jawâhir*), *li-Sayyid-nâ* Muḥammad b. Ṭâhir, in two *maqâlas*, each subdivided into 8 *bâbs*.

8. Min ar-Risâlat ar-râbi'a min Rasâ'il Ikhwân aṣ-Ṣafâ.

9. Kalâm fî't-tarbiyat, by Muḥammad b. Ṭâhir himself, in 12 *fasls*.

10. Risâlat Shahriyâr b. al-Ḥusayn, apparently the same as *Risâlat fî Radd man yunkir al-'âlam ar-rûḥânî*, see above, no. 173.

11. R. mutaḍammina as-Sijill al-wârid bi'l-bishârat li-Mawlâ-nâ, by Muḥammad b. Ṭâhir himself, about the meaning of the terms "*muslim*" and "*mu'min*". The letter is from al-Âmir informing Sayyidat ar-Raziyya al-Ḥurrat al-Malika about the birth of a child, in 524/1130. The *Hidâyat al-Âmiriyya* is referred to, also *K. al-Fatarât wa'l-Qirânât* (no. 18), and *Sîrat* Ibn Ḥawshab by Ja'far b. Manṣûr al-Yaman (no. 23, doubtful).

13. Ma'rifat al-Jism wa'n-Nafs wa'l-farq bayna-humâ, on the difference between the physical and psychical self, by an anonymous author.

14. Ma'rifat an-Nufûs al-arba', by Muḥammad b. 'Alî b. Abî Yazîd, of al-Âmir's time.

15. Risâlat 'Amlâq al-Yûnânî, on theosophical matters.

16. Kalâm fî'l-ḥujjat, about the *naṣṣ* of Imams.

17. R. ad-Daraj, by adh-Dhu'ayb b. Mûsâ, comments on a point from the *Râḥat al-'Aql*, about the relative position of things in existence. Cf. no. 197.

18. Risâlat al-Mabâḥith at-tis'a, on logical categories, in application to anthroposophy. The name of the author does not appear.

19. Mulḥiqat al-adhnân wa munabbihat al-wasnân, by ʿAlî b. Muḥammad b. al-Walîd, cf. further on no. 233. It deals with *ḥaqâ'iq, tawḥîd*, etc.

20. Faḍâ'il Rabbânî al-umma wa mu'jizâtu-hâ khabar an-nâq, stories of miracles of the Prophet related from Miqdâd b. al-Aswad, and others.

21. al-Mabâdî al-ʿaqliyya, from the Encyclopaedia of *Ikhwân aṣ-Ṣafâ*.

22. Risâlat al-ḥudûd wa'r-rusûm, also from the same source.

23. al-Qawl ʿalâ kam (?) al-ʿibâd, on *ta'wîl*.

24. Tuḥfat aṭ-Ṭâlib wa umniyyat al-bâḥith ar-râghib, by ʿAlî b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walîd, see above, no. 204. *Kitâb az-Zîna* by Abû Ḥâtim ar-Râzî is quoted (a rare thing), also works of Jaʿfar b. Manṣûr al-Yaman. An extraordinary feature: *jâ' ʿani'l-Imâm Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allâh*, obviously a quotation from the *Ikhwân aṣ-Ṣafâ*. The story of Imam al-ʿAzîz, 12 *bâbs* of the twelve *jazâ'ir* and a Sindî, who wanted to deify the Imam.

It is sometimes wrongly ascribed to ʿAlî b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlî b. Muḥd b. al-Walîd, the 9th *dâʿî*.

25. Tarbiyat mufîda jâmiʿa, useful information on varied (religious) subjects, on *furûḍ, ṭahârat, ṣalât*, and so forth, then on theosophical matters, sometimes with the use of cipher. Abû Ḥâtim (ar-Râzî), Qâḍî Nuʿmân, and others are referred to.

The contents of *the second volume:*

26. Majlis (*min majâlis*) Sayyid-nâ al-Muʾayyad *fî'd-dîn*. A sermon of a general instructive character, appealing to seek *ʿilm* and practice piety and devotion to God.

27. Risâlat al-Basmala fî maʿrifat al-tisʿa ʿashar al-mufaṣṣala, by ʿAlî b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walîd (beg. vii/xiii c.), cf. no. 202. It explains the mystical implications of the letters in the words *b'ism Allâh*, chiefly following the writings of Jâʿfar b. Manṣûr al-Yaman. *Sarâ'ir al-maʿâd wa'l-maʿâsh*, see no. 50 (by Abû Yaʿqûb Sijzî) is also referred to in the beginning. The "proofs" are based on the fantastical speculation over the numerical values of letters composing the formula and their reference to the seven Great

Apostles (*muṭaqâ'*) and so forth. The legend of al-Muʿizz' explanations to "the twelve *bâbs* in charge of the twelve *jazîras*", who prostrated before him except one who was from Sind (cf. *Tuḥfat aṭ-Ṭâlib* above, in the first volume no.24).

28. Follow several instructive anecdotes, perhaps having nothing to do with the *R. Basmala*, which is apparently complete.

29. Story about Aflâṭûn. The legend, narrated in the *Tuḥfat aṭ-Ṭâlib*, again about the "twelve *bâbs* from twelve *jazîras*" prostrating before al-ʿAzîz, except one from Sind; story of the son of Luqmân; *Khabar Tamîm*; *Riwâyat Jîda ʿan Ahl al-Bayt;* story about ʿAlî and a Syrian, with a reference to the *K. al-Ghurar wa'd-Durar*, by Sayyid Murtaḍâ; *R. al-Farq bayn al-Malâ'ikat bi'l-quwwa wa'l-malâ'ikat bi'l-fiʿl* (cf. above, no. 168)

30. Maḥaijat al-Irshâd wa'l-mûḍiḥat li-sabîl an-najât, min ʿâlam al-kawn wa'l-fasâd, by an anonymous author of the sixth/twelfth c. It is divided into four *bâbs:* 1. *walâyat al-A'imma;* 2. *fî'l-ḥaḍḍ ʿalâ'l-aʿmâl ash-sharʿiyyâ;* 3. *fî'l-ḥaḍḍ ʿalâ ṭalab al-ʿilm;* 4. *fî-mâ yalzim al-mu'minîn baʿḍa-hum li-baʿḍin.* The *bâbs* are subdivided into *faṣls*. References to the *Daʿâ'im* of Q. Nuʿmân, his *al-Majâlis wa'l-Musâyarât*, Imams al-Manṣûr, al-Muʿizz, ancient Imams, *K. al-Himma*, al-Muʾayyad *fî'd-dîn's Majâlis*, Ḥamîd ad-dîn's *Tanbîh al-hâdî wa'l-mustahdî*, the *Râḥat al-ʿAql*, the *waṣiyyat* of Imam al-Ḥâkim given by him to Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allâh al-Kirmânî (i. e. Ḥamîd ad-dîn) when he was sent to his post in ʿIrâq.

31. R. ʿanâ bi-hâ as-sulṭân al-ajall as-sayyid al-Khaṭṭâb b. Ḥasan, an answer to *R. Burhân ul-anwâr fî i'jâz sûrat al-Kawthar* (cf. no.193). It is perhaps the same work as mentioned in F. under the title of *ar-R. fî bayân i'jâz al-Qur'ân*. It is divided into unnumbered *faṣls*. Unfortunately, the name of the author of the book which is criticised does not appear here.

32. Kitâb Abî'l-Fawâris ad-Dâʿî bi'l jazîrat ash-Shâm (cf. no. 120). A compilation composed of answers of various *duʿât* in Syria, at the time of al-Ḥâkim *bi'l-lâh*, explaining various questions of the Ismaili faith. The compiler, *muṣannif*, calls himself the secretary *(kâtib)* of the *dâʿî* in Syria, Abû'l-Fawâris Aḥmad b. Yaʿqûb. The questions are arranged in 16 *bâbs:* 1. Various proofs of the necessity of the Imam after the Prophet; 2. whether it is not

enough to have the Coran, *sharî'at, farâ'iḍ* and *sunnat;* 3. why the Imam cannot be elected by the community, and not appointed by a *naṣṣ*? 4. What are the proofs of the validity (*ṣiḥḥat*) of the *naṣṣ*? 5. In what is the guarauty of justice in God's having chosen for Imamat Peter and not Paul? 6. What is the proof for our reason that 'Alî was the noblest man after the Prophet, and the most deserving of the caliphate of all the people? 7. From where can one see that 'Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib was the bravest man in the nation, and yet he had not presented his claims, but swore allegiance (to the incumbent)? 8. Why is it not permissible that at one and the same time there would be two Imams or more owing to the great distances which separate different corners of the earth? 9. Why is it impossible that Imamat could be transferred from the descendants of 'Alî to others? 10. How would it be if this revelation *(al-âyat)* would not have been from our Prophet, and of our times, but the ancient law? 11. Is it possible that your Imam dies without a heir? The author goes into the question of the genealogy of the Imams, and refers to the *khuṭba* of al-Ḥâkim in Cairo in 386/996; 12. what if the Imam dies as still an embryo, or a born infant, – how can one follow him, or swear allegiance to him, while he is still a minor ... not yet regarded by *sharî'at* as responsible for his actions? 13. What proof can be brought of the legitimacy of Imamat, etc. 14. How can it be that an Imam should remain in concealment owing to fear (of persecution), or concealing his real religion *(taqiyya)*, just like our concealed Imam *(aṭ-Ṭayyib);* 15. Why are the names of the Imams publicly revealed in mosques? 16. How would it be possible to know the real successor, if the Imam dies leaving several sons who all claim succession while the real Imam designate is afraid to present his claims?

The compiler apparently does not refer to any earlier works, is quite vague in his references to the *mukhâlifîn*. In the fourth *bâb* he refers to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrî, an early Sufi.

33. (Arba'a fuṣûl fî'l-uṣûl), a title-less treatise by an anonymous author who wrote it under al-Mustanṣir *bi'l-lâh* (428–487/1036–1094), divided into four *faṣls: 1. fî mâ yalzam ahl al-îmân ... min ta'ẓîm ḥurmat ad-dîn; 2. fî tafḍîl al-wilâdat ad-dîniyya wa'l-ukhuwwat ar-rûḥâniyya 'alâ'l-wilâdat aṭ-ṭabî'iyya wa'l-ukhuwwat al-jismiyya;*

3. fî takâfî ḥuqûq al-mu'minîn ... 'alâ ikhtilâf ṭabaqâti-him; 4. fî'l-ḥaḍḍ 'alâ'l-tamassuk bi'l-'amal aṣ-ṣâliḥ ... The author refers to the works of al-Mu'ayyad *fî'd-dîn.*

34. Masâ'il al-mustajîb li'l-'abd aṣ-ṣâliḥ, an elementary work on various questions of *ta'wîl*, eschatology, the *Qâ'im* (*'alá dhikri-hi's-salâm*), Imamat, *'ahd, darajat at-muḥrimîn min al-bâṭin, al-jidd, al-fatḥ, al-khayâl*, demonology, etc., all in very small doses.

35. Risâlat li'sh-shaykh ... 'Alî b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walîd ilâ Muḥammad ibn al-Hindî, obviously the same as the *R. fî'l-baḥth 'alâ'l-firqat an-Nizâriyya*, mentioned above, no. 203. The author, 'Alî b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walîd, flourished in the beginning of the seventh/thirteenth c. The work is arguing against those (i. e. Nizaris) who believe that the *naṣṣ* (of the Musta'lian Imams) became extinct (with al-Âmir), and insists on the reality of aṭ-Ṭayyib. There is much of all kinds of irrelevant speculation and argument, but nothing as regards historical facts. The "proofs" mostly consist of cabbalistic calculations, in the Ḥurûfî style, and so forth. Ḥamîd ad-dîn Kirmânî's work, the *Mabâsim al-bishârât fî'r-radd 'alâ'l-Farghânî* (no. 141) and al-Mu'ayyad's *K. al-Ibtidâ wa'l-intihâ* (no. 168) are referred to.

36. Riwâyat al-aruzz wa mâ fî-hi min al-faḍl, on the value of rice, as related by al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar from Imam Ja'far.

37. al-Lâ'iḥa, by an anonymous author, a treatise on theosophy, divided into 15 *faṣls*, each beginning with *fî ibânat ad-dalîl 'alâ ...: 1. jasad al-insân makhlûq ... wa lays huwa bi-khâliq dhâti-hi; 2. jasad al-insân wa rûḥu-hu ... maḥkûm aṭ-ṭabî'at ...; 3. aṭ-ṭabî'at majbûrat ... lâ ikhtiyâr la-hâ fî istiḥâlati-hâ ...; 4. al-arkân al-arba'a wa'ṭ-ṭabî'at maḥkûmat ...; 5. al-aflâk wa'l-kawâkib majbûrat muḥkûmat fî ḥarakâti-hâ ...; 6. al-aflâk al-muḥarrikât ... yuḥriku-hâ muḥrik ...; 7. al-muḥrik an-nâqiṣ ... muḥtâj ilâ tâmm ghanî sâkin ...; 8. al-'aql al-kullî ... ma'lûl ...; 9. jâ'izat al-kalâm fî'l-Mubdi' ...; 10. jamî' .. min al-mutaḥarrikât wa's-sâkinât ma'lûlât ...; 11. al-Mubdi' lâ yaḥtâj ilâ ibdâ'i-hi al-mubda'ât ...; 12. iḥâṭat 'ilm al-Bârî bi'l-mubda' ...; 13. imtinâ' iḍmiḥlâl al-mubda'ât ...; 14. ḥâjat an-nafas wa'l-arwâḥ ilâ ajrâm wa'l-ajsâm ...; 15. al-wuṣûl ilâ ghadhâ' ar-rûḥ wa lubb ad-dîn wa ta'wîl ash-sharâ'i' ... kamâ wuṣûl al-jasad ilâ ghadhâ'i-hi ...*

The author apparently flourished under al-Mu'izz li-dîn Allâh because he invokes blessings upon his ancestors and those who are coming after him.

38. Risâlat li'l-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad ad-Dâ'î al-Mayhadhî (?), an "open letter" written by the *dâ'î* al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad with a *nisba* which cannot be properly reconstructed due to the errors of copyists, at the time *apparently* of al-'Azîz bi'l-lâh (365-386/975-996), to his persecutors, the people of Ray (now Teheran), cf. no. 114 above.

(**206**) *ar-Risâlat al-Ḥâtimiyya fî'r-radd 'alâ ba'ḍ al-mâriqîn*, an "answer", or refutation of the statements in a treatise by an author whose name is not given. Muḥammad b. Ṭâhir finds it badly misleading, and does not mince hard words about its malice. The treatise is divided into 13 *faṣls*, each forming a detailed refutation of the "*risâla*", the text of which is cited. The work depicts the utter confusion and anarchy which followed the extinction of the Musta'lian line, with many members of the *da'wat* organisation losing discipline. Works of Ḥamîd ad-dîn, al-Mu'ayyad, and some others, even the *Iftitâḥ ad-da'wa*, by Qâḍî an-Nu'mân, are abundantly quoted.

(**207**) *Ḥadâ'iq al-albâb*, in 28 *mas'alas* relating to various religious and theosophic problems; it may be a kind of note-book into which information on different subjects was entered without any system: 1–4. matters connected with *tawḥîd*, creation, etc.; 5–8. *nafs*; 9. on *Risâlat* (Prophetship); 10. moralising on the subject of the *faqr al-'ulamâ' wa dhillatu-hum; 11. al-Qâ'im, hal jismu-hu maḥsûs am lâ;* 12–16. *tawḥîd* with relation to ethics; 17. *al-'ibâdatayn, al-'ilmiyya wa'l-'amaliyya;* 18–22. eschatology, and miscellanies, such as wine drinking, etc.; 23. whether the Imam controls the *falak*, or the *falak* governs the fate of the Imam; 24–26. *ṭahârat;* poetry; *ḥudûd;* 27. Jesus and Muḥammad, who was greater? 28. *ibdâ'*.

(**208**) *ar-Risâla fi'l-ḥaqâ'iq*, or *Arba' 'ashar mas'ala al-latî ajâb 'an-hâ Sayyid-nâ Muḥammad b. Ṭâhir*, in 14 *bâbs:* 1. *al-a'mâl ash-shar'iyya;* 2. *Jahannam, Barzakh*, etc. 3. *ikhtilâf 'ilal al-lughât;* 4. *al-'âlam al-kabîr;* 5. *ikhtilâf i'tiqâdât;* 6. *hayûlâ;* 7. *'âlam kabîr* (?); 8. *mûsiqî;* 9. *insân huwa'l-'âlam al-kabîr;* 10. *al-qawm an-nafsâniyya;* 11. *Âdam, shajarat, Iblîs;* 12. *'adad wa handasa;* 13. *masqaṭ an-nuṭfa; nafs ash-shams;* 14. *aflâk*.

(**209**) *al-Anwâr al-laṭîfa*, not seen by F.

(**210**) *al-Mûḍiḥat li'r-rashâd*, in a private collection. Doubtful.

(**211**) *Luma' al-anwâr*, on the superiority of the *dhurriyyat al-Ismâ'îliyya*.

'Alî b. Muḥammad b. Ṭâhir b. Ibrâhîm al-Ḥârithî, the son of the preceding.

(**212**) *al-Bayân*, mentioned in the *Muntaza'* ii, under the fifth *dâ'î*, 'Alî b. Muḥammad b. al-Walîd.

Ḥâtim b. Ibrâhîm b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abi'l-Mas'ûd b. Ya'qûb al-Ḥâmidî the *third dâ'î* in the Yaman, d. 16 Muḥ. 596/7-xi-1199. The *Nuzhat* i gives a lengthy story of how his accession was opposed by different parties, but says nothing about his literary works. The same is with the *Muntaza'* ii. He was a prolific writer and author of voluminous compilations.

(**213**) *ash-Shumûs az-Zâhira*, a large work on theosophy, one of the most secret compendia of esoteric philosophy of Ismailism. It is of the type, so much beloved in the Yamanite Ismaili literature, of a collection of *mas'alas*, very loosely connected one with another. The author very rarely quotes earlier Ismaili works, sticking to the "highest authorities", such as the apocryphal sayings of 'Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib, or Imam Ja'far. The full title of the book is given in the *muqaddima* as *ash-Shumûs az-Zâhira wa'l-Anwâr al-Muḍî'at al-Bâhira, muḥtawî mâ fî-hi 'alâ sharaf ad-dunyâ wa'l-âkhira*. It is entrusted to the reader as an *amânat*. "Each answer to each question is here, in truth, a shining sun", and so forth. It is awfully verbose, profusely invoking God and pooring pious sentences, – no wonder that in my copy it takes 905 pages. At the beginning something like an attempt at

systematic division is made: first comes a *faṣl*, then 12 numbered *mas'alas*, then a *mas'ala* without a number, and then, apparently without any system, the headings appear: *faṣl*, *mas'ala*, *qawlu-hu*, etc. The first *mas'ala* is about the *ahl dâr al-quds*, i. e. *dâr al-ibdâ'*, the world of primal realities. The second: the words attributed to 'Alî: *"naḥn ashkhâṣ azaliyyûn qabl al-qalam wa'n-nûn* (*'aql* and *nafs*)". Another: *'aql*, *ḥudûd*, etc. Creator, *amr*, *kalima*, etc., the usual discussions of the world, nature, etc., with occasional references to the works of al-Mu'ayyad and Ḥamîd ad-dîn.

In the eleventh *mas'ala* the author comes to the discussion of Iblîs and generally demonological matters, even *Umm aṣ-ṣibyân*, who introduces herself to king Solomon as a female demon called Abrûm bint Daḥaq bint 'Aqîq bint Malyâṭ bint Shayṭân bint Alhâm bint Lâhîm ibn Fâ'us b. Iblîs (quite a matrilinear pedigree!) She delivers to Solomon a lengthy lecture on demonology as the cause of various ailments, etc. There were two Iblîses, one the Iblîs who rebelled against God, and the other who re-appears as the *didd*, adversary, of every *Nâṭiq*. This, eleventh *mas'ala* would well deserve translation as a sample of Yamanite folklore of the end of the XII c. A. D.

The 12th *mas'ala* is about Deity, whether it was created, or not. Reference to Ḥamîd ad-dîn. All these are the mysteries which the human tongue cannot explain (*mâ lâ yatarajim 'an-hu lisân bashar*î).

The new *mas'ala*, which bears no number, is about *Âdam al-kullî ar-rûḥânî wa 'an Iblîs ar-rûḥânî*, from where, how, and for what purpose were they created. The next question is about the "tree" in the *al-'âlam ar-rûḥânî* and *al-'âlam al-jismânî*. Why and how Muḥammad the Prophet was chosen for his mission.

Addenda to the first *mas'ala* about the words of 'Alî: *qawlu-hu 'alay-hâ salâmu-hu: inna Allâh . . . ikhtaṣṣ li-nafsi-hi ba'd Nabiyyi-hi min banî-hi wa ahl bayti-hi khâṣṣatan . . . wa ja'ala-hum ad-du'ât bi' l-ḥaqq ilay-hi . . .* In dealing with the doctrine of *Nubuwwat* and Imamat the author does not spare curses for the *ghulât* (hyperbolists), *ḥulûlîs*, *mâriqîn*, etc. The author goes through all Biblical precedents. A short *faṣl* sums up the section.

The next section, *mas'ala*, touches on the important problem of the relations between Deity and the Imam. Again the supposed words of 'Alî are taken as starting point, expressed in verses beginning with: *naḥnu fî' l-lâhi lâ ḥulûla wa likîn*, etc. Further on the author quotes some lines form the epistle of al-Mu'izz to the Qarmaṭian (*sijill ilâ' l-Qarmaṭî*). On the whole there is no startling revelation of anything that was so far unknown.

Another section, commenting on 'Alî's words, beginning with: *fa-'inda-hu takâmîl al-amr wa ṣaḥḥ al-'azm*, etc., explaining the usual theosophy of "high realities".

Another saying, continuation of the preceding: *thumm . . . abraz min maknûn al-'ilm wa makhzûn al-ḥukm*, etc. It deals at length with Imamat and its theosophic aspects.

A new section (without a heading) begins with the announcement that the words of Mawlâ-nâ 'Alî are like the Coran, - containing parallel and contradictory expressions, one abrogating the other (*nâsikh wa mansûkh*), and explanation may be single, or manifold. Various subjects are touched upon : Fâṭima, the daughter of the Prophet, first caliphs, Salmân addressed as Salsal, Shî'ite devotees, etc.

New section: questions put to 'Alî by his sons, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, as related by Jâbir b. 'Abd Allâh al-Anṣârî. Both sons ask 'Alî to show them Yâjûj wa Mâjûj (Gog and Magog), and travel on a cloud. They were of a higher standing than king Solomon, who could do such things–why should they not have done it? The matter is explained symbolically. Other miracles, which sink to the level of plain fairy tales.

Then come matters of eschatology: Hell, Paradise, discussion of moral behaviour, *nafs* of various kinds, etc.

New section: God, matters explained by 'Alî. Discussion on *'Aql* and other "high realities". Psychology, Physics, etc.

Ta'yîdât qudsâniyya wa 'ulûm Rabbâniyya, as the wisdom of the Imams. The *'ilm* with which the author is concerned is, certainly, religious and even mystical knowledge. Pages are filled with hollow platitudes on the subject. The *'ilm* of Âdam, of Nûḥ, Moses, etc. The words attributed to 'Alî quoted: "I am given amongst the Arabs the name of 'Alî b. Abî Ṭâlib; my name in Paradise is as-Sayyid; amongst the supporters of the firmament - 'Alî; in the heaven - Taqî; on both earths (*arḍayn*) - Amîr al-mu'minîn; with the Prophet - his brother, amongst his associates - Murtaḍâ, amongst the faithful (*mu'minûn*) - Imam, in the

community - Ḥaydara, in the Coran - Ahl al-Bayt, in the Torah - Asad (lion), in the Injîl - Sakhî, in Zubûr - Zakî, amongst the kâfirs - Abû Turâb, amongst the kahana - Shujâ', amongst the Turks - Ma'man (?), amongst the Daylamites (*ad-Daylam*) - Jabr, amongst the Greeks (*Rûm*) - Ista'ṭûs (?), at the Resurrection - *Sâqî*, this is how they call me in every language". In another saying: "I am the great Tiding" (*an-Naba' al-'Aẓîm*). Pages of other similar epithets of 'Alî are given from the sermons attributed to him. These are related by Yûnus b. Ṭaybân, Kuthayr b. Dâ'ûd, and others.

Now comes the question of those who derive their *'ilm* from the Imam, namely *bâb*, *ḥujjat*, *dâ'î*, *ma'dhûn*, etc. Again the question of Imamat. The famous sentence " 'Alî is the *mawlâ* of those whose *mawlâ* I am".

Imam Ja'far is asked about the *Ghulât* and the *Nuṣayriyya*. A very rare tradition is quoted in which Imam Ismâ'îl b. Ja'far addresses al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar: "thou art our light in darkness and our lamp lit from the good olive tree" (with reference to the verse of the Coran connected with that expression). Follow many short traditions related from Imam Ja'far and 'Alî.

Further on in the explanations of some other utterances of 'Alî the author touches upon the matter which is the subject of the *Kitâb ar-Rushd wa'l-Hidâya* (cf. above no. 11).

The same terms are used: 12 *naqîbs* of the Prophet, four heptads (*asâbî'*), the seventh of the first being Muḥammad b. Ismâ'îl b. Ja'far, of the second, al-Mu'izz, the third - aṭ-Ṭayyib (who is, of course, not mentioned in the *K. ar-Rushd*), the fourth - "the seventh of the *abdâl*". The same metaphor of the *fawâkih* (fruits) is used.

Further, follow the matters which appear exactly the same as the *Risâlat al-aruzz* which is included in MT ii, see no. 205 (36).

The implications of the myth of Adam, the *nûr* which continues in the prophetic strain of his progeny. Follows a lengthy discussion of cosmogonical theosophy.

The question of *Barzakh*. *Asmâ' al-ḥudûd al-jismâniyya*. The hierarchy, quite an elementary discussion. It is interesting that here again the author takes out from antiquity the term *lâḥiq* for *bâb* or *ḥujjat*, gives the old term *jinâḥ* the meaning of the

ma'dhûn. He explains the term *mustajîb* by *man istajâb ilâ'l-ḥaqq*.

The purpose of the use of "alluding" expressions for the ranks in hierarchy and of the concealment of the *madhhab al-ḥaqq*. Follow nearly 100 pages of theosophical discussion, with Adam and many other subjects mixed in a chaotic way.

Comments on the words of Imam Ja'far: *naḥn raḥmat Allâh*, etc. It implies that every Imam steps at the beginning of his Imamat into the place of his forefather, the Prophet, in accordance with the verse of the Coran (XXI, 10): "verily, We sent thee out of mercy (*raḥmatan*) to the world". The author discusses the ideas of the *ḥijâbs* of different kinds: *nâsûtî*, *rûḥânî*, *al-maqâm al-lâhûtî*, *al-mawḍi' ar-Rabbânî*, *shakhṣ-nûrânî*, etc. The *ḥadîth* "*I* and 'Alî, we were both of us a single light", is quoted. "*Abnâ' Fâṭim Fâṭir*". This particular section may be the most important in the book as it entirely repeats the dogmas of the Nizârî *Qiyâmat al-Qiyâmât* in Alamût which the Musta'lians officially refute. Preaching such ideas, the author, nevertheless, pours curses upon the Ghulât and the Nuṣayrîs.

Theosophy again. The author refers to a book, *Kitâb al-Ighmâḍ*, of theosophic contents. Ja'far b. Manṣûr al-Yaman is also referred to, also Ḥamîd ad-dîn. There are interesting references to Salmân in which 'Alî says: *ashhad anna Salsal al-bâb al-lâḥiq wa shabḥ an-nâṭiq .... shabḥ al-ḥikmat an-nâṭiq* ... Further: *Salmân 'alay-hi's-salâm bâb al-Waṣî* ... It is a pity that the author in his interesting discussions gives no references to his sources, so that it is not easy to see what is his own position in these matters. Follows a commentary on a theosophical poem. Discussion of *al-'Âshir*, *'Âlam al-ashbâḥ*, etc.

From the *munâjât* of al-Mu'ayyad with theosophical comments, references to Biblical mythollgy, Adam, Noah, etc.

Commentary on the *munâjât* of an anonymous dignitary (*ba'ḍ al-ḥudûd*) on *Anwâr sha'sha'âniyya*, the Imams. Comments on a saying of Imam Ja'far. Another, of the Prophet. On various subjects: animals, man, *nafs*, Imamat, etc.

Note from a question put to Yaḥyâ b. Mâlik concerning a point in the *Rasâ'il* of *Ikhwân aṣ-Ṣafâ*. Another point from the same.

On the whole it would be fair to say that in this bundle of chaotic information obvious chaff is intermixed with very interesting matters, and if the book is supplied with a detailed subject index, it may be of much use to the student of Ismailism.

(**214**) *Jâmi' al-ḥaqâ'iq (mimmâ jumi' min Majâlis Sayyid-nâ al-Mu'ayyad fî'd-dîn ṣafî Amîr al-mu'minîn wa waṣiyyi-hi Hibat Allâh b. Mûsâ b. Dâ'ûd as-Sulaymânî (as-Salmânî?) qaddas Allâh rûḥa-hu)*, another voluminous production of the same author. It is a synopsis of the contents of the 800 *majlises* of Sayyid-nâ al-Mu'ayyad arranged in 18 groups of subjects. The text of extracts is literally copied, and it is a great advantage that the compiler always indicates the volume and the number of the *majlis* from which the extract has been taken. If a systematic index of subjects, terms and proper names is provided, it would be a useful source for the study of the doctrine under the Fatimids. It is difficult to say as to whether the compilation incorporates the *whole* text of the 800 *majlises* (except for the opening passages) because one *majlis* may be split up amongst several *bâbs*. It goes without saying that the author's selection was entirely based on religious interest. The compendium is divided into 18 *bâbs*: 1. *fî'l-tawḥîd*; 2. *fî-mâ yakhtaṣṣ bi-dhikr al-Mubdi' al-Awwal*; 3. *fî dhikr Rasûl Allâh wa faḍli-hi*; 4. *fî-mâ yakhtaṣṣ bi-dhikr Rasûl Allâh wa dhikr Waṣiyyi-hi*; 5. *fî-hi dhikr mâ yakhtaṣṣ bi-dhikr Amîr al-mu'minîn 'Alî ibn 'Abî Ṭâlib*; 6. *fî-mâ yakhtaṣṣ bi-dhikr al-A'immat*; 7. *dhikr al-ḥudûd*; 8. *mâdat, ta'yîd, walay, ḥâl al-Anbiyâ'* ; 9. ?(its heading is omitted in F., and the whole chapter is missing in the copy which I examined); 10. *wujûb ukhdh al-'ahd*; *wujûb at-ta'wîl*; 11. *dhikr al-ghulât wa ahl at-tanâsukh wa'r-radd 'alay-him*; 12. *ar-radd 'alâ'l-falâsifa wa'l-mu'aṭṭila wa ahl an-nujûm*; 13. *ar-radd 'alâ'l-Miṣrî wa'th-Thughûrî wa'l-Mu'tazila wa'l-Yahûd*; 14. *aḍdâd al-Waṣî wa'l-A'imma wa dhikr Iblîs kull 'aṣr wa'z-zamân wa ḍidd kull Nâṭiq*; 15. sermons on moral matters; 16. *Qâ'im al-Qiyâmat*; 17. *Ma'âd*; 18. *ahl al-'adhâb*.

(**215**) *Tanbîh al-ghâfilîn*, on ethics, compiled from tradition of the Imams, verses of the Coran, various early works on ethics, the *Rasâ'il* of *Ikhwân aṣ-ṣafâ*, and *Majâlis* of Imam al-'Azîz bi'l-lâh. It is not divided into chapters, but new subjects are introduced by "*faṣl*". Occasional references are made to ancient philosophers.

(**216**) *Tuḥfat al-qulûb wa farjat al-makrûb*, also named by the author *Tuḥfat al-qulûb fî tartîb al-hudât wa'd-du'ât fî'l-jazîrat al-Yamaniyya*, an elementary work on the doctrine of Ismailism to which a short note is added on the shifting of the leaders of the Musta'lian Ismailis from Cairo to the Yaman, and on the few earliest *dâ'is*. Cf. my article "The Organisation of the Fatimid Propaganda" in the Journ. of the Bombay Branch of the R.Asiatic S-ty, 1939, pp. 13 - 14. The book, as many other writings of this author, is not divided into regular chapters, but each section is simply marked by *faṣl* (altogether 21 of them). It contains a considerable element of controversy against the *ghulât* of various kinds, but, unfortunately, the information is rendered useless by the author's never mentioning the name of the sect against which it is directed. The most valuable part of the work is the quotation of an earlier treatise, which is apparently lost, *ar-R. al-Mûjizat al-Kâfiya fî Shurût ad-Da'wat al-Hâdiya*, by Sayyid-nâ Aḥmad b. Ibrâhîm an-Naysâbûrî (cf. no.118). The author also refers to his earlier "one *risâla* after another", especially the one with the title *ar-Risâlat al-Jawhara* (or *Jawhariyya*?), cf. no. 227.

(**217**) *Zahr Badhri'l-Ḥaqâ'iq*, divided into 18 *mas'alas*: 1. *ibdâ' al-'uqûl*, etc.; 2. *al-aflâk*, etc.; 3. *kurrât an-nûr*; 4. *Nâṭiq, Waṣî, Imâms*; 5. *al-ḥayât as-sâriya*; 6. *dhanb Âdam*; 7. *rutbat al-mustajîb*, etc.; 8. *at-tajarrud mina'l-jism*, etc.; 9. *al-Jannat wa'n-Nâr*; 10. *al-ibtidâ' wa'l-ma'âd*; 11. *Kayf lâ'a'l-jism*, etc.; 12. *ma'âd al-mu'min*, etc. 13. *sharaf al-masâjid*, etc.; 14. *al-ba'th wa'n-nushûr*; 15. *aṭ-ṭarîq*; 16. *al-maṭar*; 17. *'aqlu'l-ḥadd*; 18. *hayûlâ'l-mu'min*, etc. The text was edited by Dr. 'Âdil al-'Awwâ, in his "*Muntakhabât Ismâ'îliyya*", Damascus, 1958, pp. 157 — 180.

(**218**) *al-Mafâkhir wa'l-ma'âthir*, on excellent qualties of 'Alî.

(**219**) *Mafâtîḥ an-ni'mat* (to be distinguished from the work by Qâḍî Nu'mân with the same title, cf. no. 81). It is a collection of notes on religious and philosophical matters.

(**220**) *Mafâtîḥ al-kunûz*, on whether al-Mahdî really was a descendant of Imam Ḥusayn. The work appears to be lost.

(**221**) *an-Naqd (an-Nuqaṭ?)'alâ ahl al-makhâṭ fî-mâ'rtakab mina'l-fisq wa'l-khabâṭ*, on sinners and their offences.

(**222**) *at-Tadhkira*, miscellanies on religious and theosophic subjects.

(**223**) *al-Majâlis al-azhar fî faḍl Ṣâḥib al-Kawthar wa dhikr al-'Id al-akbar fî yawm an-naṣṣ al-ashhar*, on the *'îd* of Ghadîr Khum (cf. *Azhâr* vi).

(**224**) *K. al-Masâlik*, not in F.

(**225**) *al-Majâlis*, a collection of 15 *majlises*.

(**226**) *al-Majâlis*, a larger collection, originally of 77 *majlises* of which only 52 are preserved.

(**227**) *al-Jawhara* (or *al-Jawhariyya*?), cf. no. 216, referred to in the *Tuḥfat al-Qulûb*, on matters connected with the *da'wat*.

(**228**) *Maṣâbîḥ al-ḥaqâ'iq al-hâdiya ilâ awḍaḥ aṭ-ṭarâ'iq*, not mentioned in F.

(**229**) *al-Iḥsân fî khalq al-insân*, on righteous life and ethics, divided into five *faṣls*: 1. *fî bayân al-iḥsân fî khalq al-insân* (after which the *risâla* received its title); 2. *ḥayâtu-hu'l-juz'iyya;* 3. *mawtu-hu'l-juz'î;* 4. *mawtu-hu'l-kullî;* 5. *ḥayâtu-hu'l-kulliyya.*

Abû Tamâm, a *dâ'î* who flourished about the beginning of the vii/xiii c.

(**230**) *al-Urjûza li-Abî Tamâm*, a versified treatise in 131 *bayt* on elements of the Ismaili doctrine. It is apparently also called *Kitâb ash-Shajara* (?).

'Alî b. Ḥâtim b. Ibrâhim, the son of the *third dâ'î*, and himself the *fourth dâ'î*, d. the 25 Dhî Qa'da 605/31-v-1209.

(**231**) *Rawḍat al-ḥikam aṣ-ṣâfiya wa bustân al-'ulûm al-wâfiya*, on a number of points in Ismaili esoterism, in 17 *mas'alas*, taken from various earlier works: 1. on the *ḥudûd*, comments on Abû Ya'qûb as-Sijzî in his *K. al-Bishârât* (cf. no. 45); 2. *al-A'imma*, also comments on the words of the same author, apparently from the same work; 3. *dawr al-ijrâm*, also from Sijzî; 4. *al-Qâ'im 'alay-nâ salâmu-hu;* 5. *an-nufûs ar-rûḥiyya tablîgh ilâ'l-mushtarî;* 6. *al-mashmûmât mithl al-musk wa'l-'anbar wa'l-kâfûr;* 7. *ibtidâ' al-ḥurûf ar-rûḥâniyya* (*wa*) *anwâr rûḥâniyya*, also from a work of Abû Ya'qûb: 8. *kam dâr min al-adwâr wa'l-akwâr ilâ waqti-nâ hadhâ;* 9. *al-waḥy al-muttaṣil bi'r-Rasûl fî waqt dûn waqt;* 10. *al-ajal*, commenting on a saying of Imam Mḥd al-Bâqir; 11. *an-Nuṭaqâ' hum ajzâ' an-nafs al-kulliyya*, also from *k. al-Bishârât* of Abû Ya'qûb (use of cipher); 12. *faḍalât ahl adwâr 'ind qiyâm al-Qâ'im;* 13. *ta'yîd*, from the *Munâjât* of *al-Mu'ayyad;* 14. *hal an-nâs majbûrûn 'alâ'l-ma'âṣî*, a question put to Imam Ja'far; 15. relative places of the Prophet Muḥammad, 'Alî and Qâ'im *'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm;* 16. *malâ'ika;* 17. *Allâh âkhâ bayn al-arwâḥ fî'l-azillat thumm askan-hum al-abdân ba'd dhâlik*, from a saying of Imam Ja'far.

(**232**) *Risâla*, a short note on theosophy, eight small pages, sometimes under the same title as the preceding treatise. In one copy that I examined it is called *"ta'lîf* Sayyid-nâ 'Alî b. Ḥâtim b. Ibrâhîm al-Ḥâmidî". It opens with *qâl sayyid-nâ Yaḥyâ b. Lamak b. Mâlik ... i'lam anna'l-kurrat wa mâ 'alay-hâ ...* In another copy there is nothing about the author, and it begins with: *qâl sayyid-nâ Ḥâtim b.* (sic) *Yaḥyâ b. Lamak b. Mâlik.*

'Alî b. Muḥammad b. al-Walîd, the fifth *dâ'î*, d. 27 Sha'bân 612/21-xii-1115. *Nuzhat al-afkâr* refers only to his *Dâmigh al-bâṭil*; *Muntaza'* ii says nothing about his books.

(**233**) *Mulḥiqat al-adhhân wa munabbihat al-wasnân*, a treatise on religious ethics divided into 12 *faṣls*. Apparently one of the earliest works of the author as it is included in the first vol. of the MT (19). *Faṣl* 1 on *ta'dîb* of man; 2. on man's position in the universe; 3. necessity of search for *'ilm*; 4. *'âlam nafsânî*; 5. *ta'yîd* etc.; 6. piety; 7. *jism jumlat ... al-'âlam al-jismânî*, etc. 8. *'ilm wa faḍl al-'ulamâ'*; 9. more on *'ilm;* 10. *'âlam aṭ-ṭabî'al;* 11. *al-'uqûl al-ibdâ'iyya;* 12. *ibtidâ'*.

(**234**) *Dâmigh al-bâṭil wa ḥatf al-munâḍil*, a refutation of *al-Mustaẓhirî*, or, giving it its full title, *Kitâb Faḍâ'iḥ al-Bâṭiniyya wa Faḍâ'il al-Mustaẓhiriyya* (derived from the name of the Abbasid caliph al-Mustaẓhir, 487-512/1094-1118), by the famous theologian, Muḥammad al-Ghazâlî (d. 505/1111). Extracts from this

work have been edited and summarized in the "Streitschrift des Gazali gegen die Batinijja-Sekte" by I. Goldziher, 1916, on the basis of the Ms. Or. 7782 in the British Museum. The selection of quotations was made by the author entirely in the spirit of ideas about Ismailism as they were universally accepted at that time, missing much of what was really essential in the work. The original *al-Mustaẓhirî*, in a complete copy, should have taken many times as much as Goldziher's text (81 pp.).

Its refutation, the *Dâmigh al-Bâṭil*, is a large work, in two vols. forming together over 1250 large size pages. It is divided into 12 *bâbs*, of which the first two are introductory, and the other ten are each devoted to one of the *bâbs* into which al-Ghazâlî's work is divided: 1. *yataḍammanu Sharḥ ḥâl hadhâ'l-mulḥid*.. 2. .. *ar-radd 'alay-ki fî taḥmîd kitâbi-hi* ...; 3. .. *ar-radd 'alay-hi 'an bâbi-hi al-awwal fî dhikr istinhâj al-minhâj fî siyâqat kitâbi-hi;* 4. .. *ar-radd 'alay-hi fî mâ sharaḥa-hu fî al-bâb ath-thânî min dhikr bayân alqâb man samâ-hum al-Bâṭiniyya* ...; 5. *ar-radd 'alay-hi fî bâbi-hi ath-thâlith* ... *darajât ḥiyali-him fî't-talbîs* ...; 6. *ar-radd* ... *fî bâbi-hi ar-râbi' 'ammâ dhakara-hu fî naql madhhabi-him jumlatan wa tafṣîlan;* 7. *ar-radd* ... *fî bâbi-hi al-khâmis* ... *fî ta'wîlâti-him* ...; 8. .... *ar-radd* ... *fî bâbi-hi as-sâdis* ... *adillati-him al-'aqliyya 'alâ naṣṣ madhhabi-him* ...; 9. .... *ar-radd fî bâbi-hi as-sâbi'* ... *ibṭâl istidlâlâti-himbi n-naṣṣ 'alâ naṣab al-Imâm al-ma'ṣûm:* 10 ... *ar-radd* ... *fî bâbi-hi ath-thâmin* ... *fî muqtaḍâ fatwâ ash-shar' fî ḥaqqi-him min at-tabarâ wa at-takfîr wa safk ad-dam;* 11.. *ar-radd* ... *bâbi-hi at-tâsi'* ... *fî iqâmat al-burhân al-'aqlî wa ash-shar'î 'alâ anna al-Imâm al-ḥaqq fî 'aṣri-hi bi-za'mi-hi huwa al-Mustaẓhir;* 12. .... *ar-radd* ... *fî bâbi-hi al-'âshir. jâmi'atan li'r-radd 'alâ amthâl hadhâ al-mâriq.*

The work contains some interesting material, although, by far, for the most part, it consists of platitudes and abuse poured upon the author of *al-Mustaẓhirî* for his wrongful condemnation of Ismailism.

(**235**) *adh-Dhakhîra (al-muḥtawî 'alâ mâ yuṣfî aṣ-ṣûrat wa yunawwir al-baṣîra)*, one of the most secret works of the neo-Yamanite period. In the preface it is said that none should read it except with permission of the *dâ'î* of the province to whom he may be known personally. Size about 200 pages. F – not seen

(apparently due to diplomatical blindness). The work is divided into 35 *faṣls* of which some have headings, and the majority not: 1. *tawḥîd (al-Ghayb subḥâna-hu);* 2. *fî ibtidâ' al-wujûd ar-rûḥânî aṣ-ṣiwarî wa'l-ibdâ' al-qudsânî an-nûrî;* 3. *al-ashbaḥ an-nayyira;* 4. *fî'l-wujûd al-awwal bi'l-inbi'âth al-awwal min al-munba'ath al-awwal;* 5. *al-inbi'âth li'l-Munba'ith al-awwal as-sâbiq la-hu;* 6. sin and rebellion; 7. the *aflâk* and *kawâkib;* 8. *fî ẓuhûr ash-shakhṣ al-fâḍil dhî'n-nûr al-kâmil al-ladhî huwa ghâyat al-khilqat;* 9. *ḥudûd ad-dîn;* 10. *îmân;* 11. *Imâmat;* 12. *bâb;* 13. embryo; 14. *Imâmat*, Muḥammad b. Ismâ'îl as the "Seventh", al-Mu'izz, *Qâ'im al-Qiyâmat 'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm;* 15. *al-Qâ'im;* 16. *Adwâr; al-farq bayn madhhab al-Ghulât al-malâ'în wa bayn madhhab ahl al-ḥaqq;* 17. *nafs* and Divinity; 18. Imamat in Biblical precedents; 19. Muḥammad the Prophet; 20. 'Alî; 21. Fâṭima, daughter of the Prophet; 22. *Muḥammad b. Ismâ'îl mutimm ar-rusul wa khâtim dawri-him;* 23. *Qâ'im* of the *juz'î Qiyâmat;* 24. Astrology; 25. *at-ta'rîkh al-a'ẓam;* 26. *sharî'at;* 27. Saints accompanying the Prophet; 28. Enemies and sinners; 29. The body of the vile enemy after death; 30. Rabble and rogues punished; 31. *'adhâb;* 32. *nafs nâṭiqa, ḥissiyya*, etc. 33. Reward of the faithful; 34. The Jinn; 35. Retribution.

No works are quoted or referred to, as also no persons except for Salsal (Salmân? cf. *aṣ-ṣiwar as-Salmâniyya*), Jâbir b. Zayd al-Ju'fî, and Qâḍî Nu'mân. Everything is saturated with astrological speculations.

(**236**) *Dîwân* of poetry in praise of the Imams, early Yamanite *dâ'îs*, and the Imamat of aṭ-Ṭayyib.

(**237**) *ar-Risâlat fî ma'nâ'l-Ism al-A'ẓam* (in magic cipher), a short note.

(**238**) *Lubâb al-fawâ'id wa ṣafw al-'aqâ'id*, a short treatise on the principal elements of the doctrine. The author in his introduction deplores the decline of religion, to combat which he wrote a *risâla* with the title *al-Îqâẓ wa't-tadhkâr*, in the fourth *bâb* of which he had already treated the same problems. He therefore specially devoted the present treatise to the questions of *mabda'* and *ma'âd*. The work has no subdivisions in the first half, but in the second it is divided into short *faṣls*, without headings.

Reference to *ash-shakhṣ al-fâḍil Ṣâḥib ar-Rasâ'il fî Jâmi'at al-Jâmi'a dhât al-fawâ'id an-nâfi'a.*

(**239**) *Ḍiyâ al-albâb al-muḥtawî 'alâ'l-masâ'il wa'l-jawâb,* a collection of instructive information on religious and esoteric matters, of the usual Yamanite type, divided into 32 *mas'alas:* 1. *tawḥîd;* 2. to the question of Sayyid-nâ Ḥamîd ad-dîn's criticisms (in his *K. ar-Riyâḍ*) of certain statements found in the *K. al-Maḥṣûl* (cf. above, no. 24); 3. *ma'nâ'l-ibdâ';* 4. inconsistencies in the theory of creation in the *K. al-Ibtidâ' wa'l-intihâ'* (by Sayyid-nâ al-Mu'ayyad, cf. above, no. 170); 5. *rutbat al-a'dâd aṭ-ṭabî'iyya;* 6. *awwal al-af'âl al-ibdâ', wa fi'lu-hu wa'l-maf'ûlu-hu huwa's-Sâbiq;* 7. *azaliyyat as-Sâbiq wa azaliyyat mabda'i-hi;* 8. *as-Sâbiq tâmm al-quwwat wa'l-fi'l;* 9. *al-Mubdi' wa'l-mukhtari';* 10. *anwâr* of the *Sâbiq* and *Tâlî,* and the hierarchy of the *ḥudûd ad-dîn;* 11. what is the Divine *fayḍ* benefiting the universe; 12. *ma'rifat al-ibtidâ' wa'l-ma'âd;* 13. Sayyid-nâ al-Mu'ayyad's book on *ma'âd;* 14. *ṭabî'at, dawrs* of *kashf* and *satr;* 15. whether there were angels of a higher standing than those who had to prostrate before Adam; 16. whether Noah was the first Prophet to introduce a *sharî'at,* as stated in Abû Tammâm's *K. ash-Shajarat* (see above, no. 230); 17. again from the same book, on the spirit of Adam, Jesus and Noah after it left their bodies; more comments on Abû Tamâm's *K. ash-Shajara,* on esoteric matters, eschatology, Imamat, *ḥudûd* and so forth.

(**240**) *al-Îḍâḥ wâ'l-Tabyîn fî kayfiyyat tasalsul wilâdat al-jism wa'd-dîn,* a treatise on theosophy, Imamat, *ḥudûd,* etc. Few books are cited, one being the *K. al-Fatarât wa'l-qirânât* (no. 18). A lengthy *muqaddima* (in which the title of the work is mentioned); the text is divided into unnumbered *faṣls* without headings. Extracts in *Azhâr* vii; cf. Griffini, 86, xiv. Ed. by R. Strothmann, Goettingen, 1943, "Gnosis-Texte der Ismailiten", pp. 137-158.

(**241**) *Jalâ' al-'uqûl,* in three *bâbs,* subdivided altogether into 28 *faṣls:* 1. *tawḥîd; khilqat jismâniyya;* 2. *khilqat nafsâniyya;* 3. *silsilat al-wulât ad-dîniyya; thawâb; 'iqâb.*

(**242**) *Niẓâm al-wujûd wa tartîb al-ḥudûd,* on the names of Ismaili functionaries in the Yaman at the author's time; extracts in *Azhâr* iii.

(**243**) *Tuḥfat al-murtâd wa ghuṣṣat al-aḍdâd,* a refutation of the fraudulent pretences of the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥâfiẓ (524–544/1130–1149) and his successors to be regarded as Imams, and defence of the rights of the problematic aṭ-Ṭayyib. Griffini, 86, xv; ed. by R. Strothmann, 1943, "Gnosis-texte der Ismailiten", in Abh. d. Ak. d. W., Goettingen, pp. 159–170.

(**244**) *Tâj al-'aqâ'id wa ma'din al-fawâ'id,* a compendium of the dogma of Ismailism, arranged in 100 *i'tiqâds.* It was summed up by W. Ivanow in "A Creed of the Fatimids", Bombay, 1936.

(**245**) *Lubb al-ma'ârif,* divided into seven *mas'alas:* 1. *qiyâm al-Qâ'im fî 'âlam aṭ-ṭabî'at,* the *sharî'at* of his period (Sayyid-nâ Ḥamîd ad-dîn's *K. ar-Riyâḍ* and *Râḥat al-'aql* are also referred to); 2. *hayûlâ wa ṣûrat* and their origin from *'aql* (works of Ḥamîd ad-dîn referred to); 3. *iḥdâth wa khurûj* at the *qiyâm al-Qâ'im 'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm;* 4. on the words of al-Mu'izz *li-dîn Allâh,* quoted by Q. Nu'mân in his work *al-Majâliṣ wa'l-musâyarât,* about the heaven and earth being *fânî,* i. e. transient; 5. Comments on the words of Mawlâ-nâ al-Mustanṣir in his reply to the question put by 'Alî b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣulayḥî as to the *Qâ'im* (and not Muḥammad b. Ismâ'îl) being the seventh *Nâṭiq;* 6. on the statement in Sayyid-nâ Ḥamîd ad-dîn's work *al-Maṣâbîḥ fî'l-Imâmat* (see no. 125) that the community needs the Imam, and he has to take taxes from it; references to Ja'far b. Manṣûr al-Yaman's *Sîrat* of his father (or ancestor), Q. Nu'mân's *Iftitâḥ ad-da'wa,* to *ash-Shakhṣ al-Fâḍil Ṣâḥib ar-Rasâ'il.* Some references to the *da'wat,* its organisation, the Musta'lian Imams, eminent *dâ'îs* in the Yaman, etc., are given; 7. on the statement in Q. Nu'mân's *Asâs an-Nuṭâqâ' (sic,- Asâs at-Ta'wîl?)* about taking oath of allegiance (*'uhûd wa mawâthîq*). References to Biblical archetypes. Reference to the author's own work, the *Tuḥfat al-Murtâd* (cf. above, no. 243).

(**246**) *al-Mufîda fî îḍâḥ mulghaz al-Qaṣîda,* explanation of the difficult passages in the *qaṣîda* attributed to Abû 'Alî ibn Sînâ. The text of the whole *qaṣîda* is quoted at the beginning, and the commentary is divided into unnumbered and titleless *faṣls.* References to the works of Ḥamîd ad-dîn and some other authors in

the text. The work is regarded as *doubtful*, but the manner and style is the same as in other works of the author.

(**247**) *al-Îḍâḥ wa't-Tadhkâr*, referred to in the *Lubâb al-fawâ'id wa-ṣafw al-'aqâ'id* (see no. 238). Apparently lost.

(**248**) *Nahj al-Îḍâḥ*, referred to in the *Nizâm al-wujûd*, see no. 242, pointed out in the review by P. Kraus. Apparently lost.

(**249**) *al-Îḍâḥ wa't-tafsîr fî ma'nâ yawm Ghadîr* (in a private collection) perhaps the same as *al-Îḍâḥ wa't-tabṣîr fî faḍl yawn al-Ghadîr*, which is sometimes ascribed to Sayyid-nâ al-Mu'ayyad; or is it an "answer" to it? Cf. no. 167–A.

(**250**) *Majâlis an-naṣḥ wa'l-bayân*, instructive lectures on a variety of religious, theosophic and didactic subjects. At present only *majlises* 101–140 are preserved, a volume of 580 pages. Perhaps intended as an imitation of the *Mi'ât* of Sayyid-nâ al-Mu'ayyad?

(**251**) *Mukhtaṣar al-uṣûl*, a short treatise, apparently derived from Qâḍî Nu'mân's *Ikhtilâf uṣûl al-madhâhib* (see no. 73), in four *bâbs*: 1. *al-qawl fî sharḥ al-maqâlât wa kam inqasamat fî-mâ jâ'bi-hi'n-Nabî*; 2. *ar-radd 'alâ'l-firqat al-ḥashwiyya al-ladhîn hum ash-Shâfi'iyya wa'l-Mâlikiyya*; 3. *ar-radd 'alâ aṣḥâb ar-ra'y min al-Mu'tazila wa'z-Zaydiyya wa amthâli-him ...*; 4. *ar-radd 'alâ Mu'aṭṭilî'l-Falâsifat al-Malâḥida wa'z-Zanâdiqa wa man yajma'-hum.*

'Alî b. Ḥanẓala b. Abî Salîm al-Maḥfûẓî al-Wâdi'î, the *sixth dâ'î*, d. 22 Rab. i 626/18-ii-1229.

(**252**) *Diyâ' al-ḥulûm wa miṣbâḥ al-'ulûm*, a treatise on the elements of dogma, in four *bâbs*: 1. *tawḥîd, ma'nâ't-tanzîh, tajrîd*; 2. *mabda'*; 3. *al-ma'âd al-maḥmûd*; 4. *al-ma'âd al-madhmûm.*

(**253**) *Simṭ al-ḥaqâ'iq*, a popular work on the *ḥaqâ'iq* in verse, in the form of a *mathnawî* poem of 663 bayts. It is divided into *qawls: tawḥîd; wujûd 'âlam al-ibdâ'; aflâk; al-arkân; al-mazâj al-mumtazaj wa adwâr al-kawâkib as-sab'a; dawr satr; al-ma'âd al-maḥmûd; wujûd an-nâsût wa ittiḥâdu-hâ bi'l-lâhût; al-ma'âd al-madhmûm;*

ṣifat al-baḥth, thawâb, 'iqâb. Edited by 'Abbas al-'Azzâwî, Damascus, 1953, with notes and indexes, and dedicated to the headpriest of the Dawudi Bohoras.

Ḥusayn b. 'Alî b. Muḥammad b. al-Walîd, the eighth *dâ'î*, d. 22 Ṣafar 667/31-x-1268.

(**254**) *'Aqîdat al-muwaḥḥidîn wa mûḍiḥat marâtib ahl ad-dîn*, explanation of the principles of Ismaili theosophy in the Yamanite manner of question and answers. The book is divided into unnumbered and headingless *faṣls*. Works of Sayyid-nâ Ḥamîd ad-dîn, al-Mu'ayyad, and others are referred to.

(**255**) *ad-Îḍâḥ wa'l-bayân fî'l-kashf* (or *fî'l-bayân, fî'l-jawâb*) *'an masâ'il al-imtiḥân*, divided into 25 *mas'alas* on: *ṣifât Allâh; aḥsan al-khâliqîn; ḥurûf kun-fa-yakûn; rubûbiyyat wa khilqat; jinn wa ins; tafâwut al-akhlâq; dhabḥ al-ḥayawânât; khalq Iblîs; shajarat Âdam; Allâh "istawâ 'alâ'l-'arsh"; ḥukm al-'ibâdat; al-ikhtilâf illâ min raḥm Rabbi-ka; 73 firqas; sharâ'i' al-anbiyâ'; mawḍû'ât shar'iyya; ash-shaqî; mawt; Jannat wa'n-Nâr; ikhtiyâr Allâh li'l-anbiyâ; bayân "wa inna 'alay-kum la-ḥâfiẓîn"* (Cor. LXXXII, 10–12); *"wa naḍa' al-mawâzîn bi'l-qisṭ"* (Cor. XXI, 48); *amr Allâh li-malâ'ikati-hi bi-ta'dhib al-mu'adhdhabîn; ḥâl man yakûn fî'l-Jannat; al-ladhîn shâqû fa-fî'n-Nâr*. Extracts in *Azhâr* vii.

(**256**) *al-Îḍâḥ wa't-tabṣîr fî jawâb mas'alat al-Mawlâ*, also quoted in *Azhâr*.

(**257**) *at-Tis'ûniyya*, a *qaṣîda* on the rights of aṭ-Ṭayyib to Imamat, quoted at the end of *Azhâr* ii.

(**258**) *al-Waḥîda fî tathbît arkân al-'aqîda*, in three *bâbs*: 1. *al-istitâr wa taghallub al-bâṭil 'alâ'l-ḥaqq*; 2. *aṣl al-khilqat wa mabda' al-fiṭrat*; 3. *ḥaqîqat al-ma'âd wa'th-thawâb wa'l-'iqâb, wa'l-bayân 'ani'l-mustaḥaqq li-rutbat ad-da'wat*. Each *bâb* is subdivided into a number of *faṣls*. This treatise is remarkable for the abundance of quotations from earlier literature with indications of the titles of works and names of the authors, and it would deserve careful examination for this reason rather than commonplace discussions of well-known subjects with which it deals.

(**259**) *Mâḥiyat az-zûr wa dâmighat al-kufûr*, a refutation of the heresy of the Mu'tazilî lord of Ḥiṣn Kajlân.

(**260**) *al-Mabda' wa'l-ma'âd*, not in F. The work (perhaps an extract from a larger work) is about 50 pages long. The first part is divided into *faṣls*, not numbered and bearing no headings. In the second half there is no such division, and different paragraphs are introduced by *i'lam*, etc., in red ink.

'Alî b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alî b. Muḥammad b. al-Walîd, the son and successor of the preceding, and himself the 9th *dâ'î*, d. 13 Dh. Qa'da 682/2-ii-1284.

(**261**) *al-Kâmila fi'th-thalâth al-layâlî'l-fâḍila*, in three *bâbs*, on the three sacred nights of the month of Rajab.

(**262**) *Tuḥfat aṭ-ṭâlib wa umniyyat al-bâḥith ar-râghib*, obviously the same work which is included in MT i (no. 205, 24), where it is ascribed to the authorship of 'Alî b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walîd, which must be correct.

Ibrâhîm b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alî b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Walîd, the 11th *dâ'î*, d. 10 Shawwâl 728/18-viii-1328.

(**263**) *Tis'a wa tis'ûn mas'ala fi'l-ḥaqâ'iq*, on the usual *ḥaqâ'iq* topics.

(**264**) *K. an-Nafs* (?)

'Abd Allâh Fakhr ad-dîn b. 'Alî b. Muḥammad b. Ḥâtim, the 16th *dâ'î*, d. 9 Ramaḍân 809/17-ii-1407.

(**265**) *al-Munîra fî ma'rifat ḥudûd al-jazîra*, on Imamat, *ḥudûd*, etc. Extract in *Azhâr* iii.

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al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan, d. 10 Ram. 823/18-ix-1420 (?). Very doubtful.

(**266**) *Qaṣîda fi'r-radd 'alâ'z-Zaydiyya*. Not in F.

Sharaf (or *Sharîf*) *ad-dîn Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza b. al-Ḥasan al-Maḥfûẓî*, d. 3 Dh. Hijja 845/14-iv-1442 (so in the work itself).

(**267**) *al-Mûqiẓa min nawm al-ghaflat, wa's-sunnat fî ṣiyâm al-ayyâm al-mufaḍḍala fi's-sanat wa mâ fî dhalik min al-ma'ânî ash-sharîfa al-ḥasana*, composed according to the note at the end of the work itself and completed on 14 Dh. Hijja 840/19-vi-1437. It is divided into two *bâbs* each subdivided into 13 *faṣls: bâb* 1. *at-targhîb fi'ṣ-ṣiyâm;* 2. *ma'nâ'ṣ-ṣiyâm.*

(**268**) *al-Ibânâ wa't-taṣrîḥ fî ma'nâ'ṣ-ṣalât wa't-tasbîḥ*, in three *bâbs*, explaining the esoteric implications of Islamic prayer, with much discussion of what the author calls *al-ḥikmat al-maknûna.*

(**269**) *al-Wa'ẓ wa't-tashwîq wa'l-hidâyat ilâ siwâ'ṭ-ṭarîq*, in six *bâbs*, containing the material appropriate for sermons on the occasion of various religious events falling on every month of the year.

Idrîs b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allâh b. 'Alî b. Muḥammad b. Ḥâtim, 'Imâdad-dîn, the 19th *dâ'î* (since 832/1428), d. 19 Dh. Qa'da 872/10 - vi - 1468. An expressly priestly figure, narrow minded, very superstitious. His "speciality" were works of historical contents which in the absence of any other sources are of value. Yet it is necessary to note that the author is hopelessly indiscriminate in mixing up Ismaili sources with anti-Ismaili, never specifying them, and thus often placing the reader into the position of helplessnes in separating information which one may regard as authentic from that which is often obvious fiction and insinuation of hostile propaganda. Similarly, he does not discriminate between history and legend, the events as they were in reality and as they should have been according to various religious schemes. The *Muntaza' al-akhbâr* ii devotes to him a short note, chiefly dealing with the growing relations with the Indian

community, but gives a valuable list of his literary works, composed of eleven items. It is highly probable that this list does not show *all* that Idrîs b. al-Ḥasan had really written, but only those books which were in existence at the time of the author, Quṭb-bhai Burhânpûrî, i.e. towards the end of the XVIII c., in India.

(**270**) *'Uyûn al-Akhbâr wa Funûn al-âthâr fî dhikr an-Nabî al-Muṣṭafâ al-Mukhtâr wa Waṣiyyi-hi 'Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib qâtil al-kuffâr, wa âli-himâ al-A'immat al-aṭhâr 'alay-him ṣalawât Allâh al-'Azîz al-Ghaffâr*, in seven volumes, a compendium of tradition and history from the creation of the world and till the period of the Yamanite *dâ'îs*, the predecessors of the author. The fourth volume, of which an autograph copy is said to be preserved in the library of the Dâwûdî Bohra religious headquarters in Surat, North of Bombay, contains a colophon in which it is stated that it was completed the 22nd Rab.I 842/12 - ix - 1438. The first three volumes, dealing with the ancestors of the Prophet, his biography, the biography of 'Alî, and his wars, is entirely based on tradition, and have little regard to history. The *fourth*, beginning with the story of Imam Ḥasan, and ending with al-Mahdî, is based on tradition, *Istitâr al-Imâm*, *Iftitâḥ ad-da'wa*, and various non-Ismaili sources. Vols. 5,6,7 (first half) on the history of the Fatimids from al-Qâ'im till al-Âmir and his puppet succesors, are entirely second hand, are based on shabby information, as it was apparently available in the Yaman in the XV c., with only a few Ismaili sources being used, such as *Sîrat Jawdhar*, *as-Sîrat al-Mu'ayyadiyya*, and a few other works. As to the *da'wat* in the Yaman, at the beginning of the period of *satr*, just as in the first volume of the author's other work, the *Nuzhat al-afkâr*, it strikes one with utter meagreness, the lack of information being camouflaged with bombast verbosity and quotations of quite unbearable poetry. It is remarkable that the author himself had so little idea of the real history of Ismailism that he accepted many anti-Ismaili versions of fiction treating them as true, and tried to patch up the cracks between the traditional ideas and the word of supposed "history" by improvising compromiss versions.

Vol. I. *Faḍâ'il abâ' an-Nabî*; *sîrat an-Nabî*, ending with the marriage of his daughter Fâṭima to 'Alî. Pages and pages of laudatory poetry by different authors are quoted.

Vol. II. *Sîrat Amîr al-mu'minîn 'Alî b. Abî Ṭâlib*, ending with his conflict with Mu'âwiya.

Vol. III. *Dhikr jihâdi-hi li'l-qâsiṭîn wa'l-mâriqîn*, 'Alî's wars and his assassination.

Vol. IV. *Dhikr as-Sibṭayn al-Imâmayn . . . Abî Muḥammad al-Ḥasan wa Abî 'Abd Allâh al-Ḥusayn*; the successors of the latter, up to Imam Muḥammad b. Ismâ'îl and the three *mastûr* Imams, to the eve of the campaigns of al-Mahdî. The author uses much the *Sharḥ al-akhbâr* by Qâḍî Nu'mân, and the K. *Istitâr al-Imâm*. (Cf. W. Ivanow, "Ismailis and Qarmatians", J.B.B.R.A.S., 1940, pp. 43 — 85, and "Early Shi'ite Movements", *ibid.*, 1941, pp. 1-23).

Vol. V. *Dhikr mâ jâ' min al-bishârât bi-ẓuhûr Amîr al-mu'minîn 'Abd Allâh Abî Muḥammad al-Mahdî bi'l-lâh wa . . . mâ kân . . . fî ayyâmi-hi* (here almost everything is literally copied from the *Iftitâḥ ad-da'wa*). Al-Qâ'im. Biographies of: Ustâdh Jawdhar; Abû Ḥâtim b. Ḥamdân ar-Râzî and his *Kitâb az-Ẓîna* (very meagre, no dates); al-Manṣûr; Qâḍî Nu'mân.

Vol. VI. *Dhikr nubdh min al-akhbâr mimmâ kân fî ayyâm al-Mu'izz li-dîn Allâh*. More on Qâḍî Nu'mân; a list of his works; al-'Azîz; al-Ḥâkim; Ḥamîd ad-dîn al-Kirmânî and some of his works (a very meagre note, no dates); aẓ-Ẓâhir; al-Mustanṣir; note on al-Mu'ayyad *fî'd-dîn*.

Vol. VII. *Tamâm qiṣṣat Amîr al-mu'minîn al-Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh*; beginning of information concerning the Yamanite *dâ'îs*; more on al-Mu'ayyad; al-Musta'lî; dethronment of Imâm Nizâr; al-Âmir; *dhikr mâ kân min al-imtiḥân ba'd wafât al-Amir bi-aḥkâm Allâh wa taghallub wa istitâr Mawlâ-nâ Amîr al-mu'minîn Abî'l-Qâsim aṭ-Ṭayyib*; the rest of the volume is devoted to the affairs in the Yaman, praising local parish-prominent men almost on the same scale as the Fatimid Imams.

(**271**) *Nuzhat al-afkâr wa rawḍat al-akhbâr fî dhikr man qâm bi'l-Yaman min al-mulûk al-kibâr wa'd-du'ât al-akhyâr*, stories of local tradition about the petty chieftains and *dâ'îs* in the Yaman who were connected with the post-Fatimid propaganda in

that province. The author's information is remarkably meagre while his memory for fantastic genealogies and bombastic poetry is really amazing. The first 100 pages are devoted to a survey of the *da'wat* in the Yaman from its beginning until the appointment of the first regular *dâ'î* Dhu'ayb (d. 546/1151). Short biographical notes of a succession of chief *dâ'îs* is given, with additional notes on their prominent contemporaries, but references to their works are extremely rare. The meagreness of information is made up by bombastic praises and quotations of poetry. Dates of their deaths are given, but it is a difficult question as to the extent of their reliability. The impression is that no regular records were kept, and what is offered by the author is derived from oral tradition and from what was preserved of the official correspondence.

The work is regarded as divided into two volumes, but such division appears to be rather artificial. The *first* vol. ends with the note on the 17th *dâ'î* al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allâh b. 'Alî, which is incomplete, and the *second* vol., which is much larger than the first, is entirely devoted to the notes on that 17th *dâ'î*, and the 18th, i. e. the immediate predecessors of the author, - his father and uncle. Official correspondence is quoted, plenty of the author's own poetry, and the mention of the various quarrels and minor events in the life of both *dâ'îs*, their relatives and friends, as seen through the magnifying glass of the author's personal contacts, interests, sympaties and antipaties. What may be valuable in this work are incidental references to the relations with the developing community in India. These may be important not only for the history of the Bohora community in India, but also as an additional source of information for the history of cultural relations between that country and Southern Arabia under Islam. It is a great pity that so little attention has been paid by the author to the literary activities of the *dâ'îs*, and that his references to their works are so few and rare between.

(**272**) *Rawḍat al-akhbâr wa bahjat al-asmâr*, another work "on biographies" (*fî's-sîrat*, as said in *Muntaza'*), not mentioned in F. In his review P. Kraus mentions that a copy of it exists in the library of the University of Leyden, no. 1972. The work is referred to in *Azhâr* ii. Copies of it appear to be rare, and I am unable to say whether it deals with history or only biography of the Prophet and Imams.

(**273**) *Zahr al-ma'ânî* on *ḥaqâ'iq*, in 21 *bâbs*: 1. *ithbât al-Mubdi' al-Ḥaqq wa isnâd al-mawjûdât ilâ huwiyyati-hi*; 2. *salb al-asmâ' wa'ṣ-ṣifât 'an-hu*; 3. *mawâqi' 'asâmi-hi'l-ḥusnâ*; 4. *ṣifat wujûd 'âlam al-ibdâ'*; 5. *sabq al-Awwal min 'âlam al-ibdâ' . . .*; 6. *kawn al-ibdâ' al-awwal al-a'lâ*; 7. *dhikr al-munba'ath al-mukannâ 'an-hu bi'l-Lawḥ*; 8. *marâtib 'âlam 'al-ibdâ'*; 9. *'âshir ar-rutâb wa takhalluṣu-hu wa ibânatu-hu*; 10. *al-hayûlâ wa'ṣ-ṣûrat wa mâ wujid 'an-hâ min al-aflâk wa'l-ummahât . . .*; 11. *al-mawâlîd*; 12. *Âdam al-kullî al-awwal*; 13. *al-anbiyâ'*; 14. Muḥammad the Prophet; 15. 'Alî; 16. Fâṭima; *kawn al-Imâmat raja'at ba'd al-Ḥusayn mustaqarran wa lâ takhruj 'an 'aqib al-Ḥusayn*; 17. *al-A'immat*; 18. *al-Imâmat wa'l-imâm wa mâ 'abar bi-hi min dhikr an-nâsût wa'l-lâhût fî'l-kalâm*; 19. *al-ḥudûd wa man yuqîm awliyâ' Allâh min-hum*; 20. *qiyâm bi'l-Qâ'im wa mâ yakûn 'alâ yaday-hi min ath-thawâb wa'l-'iqâb wa'ṣ-ṣu 'ûd . . .*; 21. *ma'âd al-aḍḍâd*.

(**274**) *R. al-Bayân li-mâ wajab min ma'rifat aṣ-ṣalât fî niṣf shahr Rajab*, etc., on the *ta'wîl* of the notable events which occured during the three sacred months; fast, the meaning of the prayer of Umm Dâ'ûd, etc., in three *bâbs*.

(**275**) *Dîwân* of poetry, in praise of the Imams and of some Yamanite *dâ'îs*.

(**276**) *Îḍâḥ al-i'lâm fî kamâl 'iddat aṣ-ṣiyâm*, sometimes called *al-Îḍâḥ wa'l-i'lâm*, etc., or, as in the *muqaddima* of the work itself: *Îḍâḥ al-i'lâm wa ibânat al-hidâyat fî kamâl aṣ-ṣiyâm*, on the *ta'wîl* of fastng during the month of Ramaḍân. The chief source is the *majâlis* of al-Mu'ayyad *fî'd-dîn*.

(**277**) *ar-Risâlat fî'r-Radd 'alâ 'Alî b. Ibrâhîm*. Cf. further on, no. 290.

(**278**) *'Âṣimat nufûs al-muhtadîn wa qâsimat ẓuhûr al-muqtadîn*, in six *bâbs*. It is a refutation of the herctical views of a certain Ḥasan b. Muḥammad. The work is not mentioned in *Muntaza'*, and is sometimes attributed to the authorship of 'Alî b. Muḥammad b. al-Walîd, q.v.

(**279**) *ar-R. fî'r-Radd 'alâ alâ'z-zindîq al-musammâ bi'l-Jamal*, who, as stated in *Muntaza'*, was one of anti-Islamic propagandists criticising the religion of Islam and the Muslims; unfortunately, his identity is not revealed.

(**280**) *ar-Radd 'alâ 'âlim min 'ulamâ' az-Zaydiyya wa hadm mâ nabâ'-hu fî kitâbi-hi min al-maḥâll*, as mentioned in *Muntaza'* ii and *Azhâr* ii, a defence of Ismailism against Zaydite criticism.

(**281**) *Mudḥiḍat al-buhtân wa mûḍiḥat al-ḥaqq*, not in F., but mentioned in *Muntaza'* ii and *Azhâr* ii. On fasting during Ramaḍân, against the heretics amongst the Indian Ismailis who insisted on starting the fast only after seeing the new moon.

(**282**) *Hidâyat aṭ-ṭâlibîn wa iqâmat al-ḥujjat fî îḍâḥ al-ḥaqq al-mubîn fî jawâb al-mâriqîn min ahl al-Hind*, included in *Azhâr* ii.

(**283**) *Ḍiyâ' al-baṣâ'ir wa Zubdat as-sarâ'ir* (in *Muntaza'* ii simply *Zubdat as-sarâ'ir*), in nine *mas'alas*: 1. *'aqîdat al-muwaḥḥidîn*; 2. *min Ta'wîl ad-Da'â'im*; 3. philosophers and *sharî'at*; 4. *dhikr mawâlî-nâ fî jamî' awḍâ'i-him*; 5. *wafât Mawlâ-nâ Ismâ'îl fî ḥayât wâlidi-hi*; 6. *fî'l-ḥudûd, min Risâlat Ḥâtim b. Ibrâhîm*; 7. *min Asrâr an-Nuṭaqâ'*; 8. *min ar-R. fî'l-Ma'âd li-Sayyid-nâ* al-Mu'ayyad *fî'd-dîn*; 9. answers to questions derived from different earlier works.

(**284**) *al-R. fî hilâl aṣ-ṣawm*, suggested by P. Kraus.

(**285**) *Ta'wîl amthâl al-Qur'ân*, also suggested by P. Kraus.

'Abd Allâh b. 'Alî b. Ḥasan (or *Ḥusayn*), d. 882/1477 or 886/1481.

(**286**) *Dîwân* of poetry.

(**287**) *Wasîlat al-mûlam fî tanfîs al-mughram*, a *qaṣîda* on various religious subjects.

Ḥasan b. Idrîs, Badr ad-dîn, the son of the 19th *dâ'î* and himself the 20th *dâ'î*, d. 15 Sha'bân 918/26 - x - 1512.

(**288**) *'Ibârat al-ishârat wa'l-bishârat*, included in *Azhâr* i.

(**289**) *Risâlat al-Burhân.*

'Alî b. al-Ḥusayn b. Idrîs, Shams ad-dîn, the 22 *dâ'î*, d. 21 Dh.Qa'da 933/19 - viii - 1527.

(**290**) *Risâlat fî'r-Radd 'alâ'l-mâriq 'Alî b. Ibrâhîm*, - or is it the work by Idrîs b. Ḥasan, cf. above, no. 277?

(**291**) *al-Masâ'il al-'ishrûn fî'l-ḥaqîqat*, with an appendix *faṣl fî intiqâl ar-rûḥ.*

Ḥasan b. Nûḥ b. Yûsuf b. Muḥammad b. Âdam al-Hindî al-Bharûchî, d. 11 Dh. Qa'da 939/4 - vi - 1533. Apparently little is known of his biography beyond the fact that he travelled to Arabia *ca.* 904/1498 - 9, as may be gathered from allusions in his own book. *Muntaza'* ii merely refers to him and his book in the note on the 24th *dâ'î*, Yûsuf b. Sulaymân (d. 974/1567). He apparently produced only one book, his *Azhâr*, which acquired wide popularity.

(**292**) *Kitâb al-Azhâr wa majma' al-anwâr al-malqûṭa min basâtîn al-asrâr wa majâmi' jawâkih ar-rûḥâniyya wa'th-thimâr*, in *seven* vols. (*juz's*) of different sizes. The work was compiled about the year 931/1525, as is referred to in the text. Although obviously modelled on the *Majmû' al-tarbiyat* of Muḥammad b. Ṭâhir (no. 205), it is not a chrestomathy, as the latter, but rather a vast compilation by the author in which works of his predecessors are sometimes quoted in extenso, but more usually paraphrased and much abbreviated. While in the MT each work is given a separate place, in the *Azhâr* portions of one and the same work are either quoted or paraphrased in various contexts. While the purpose of the author of MT was obviously to give a concise but clear account of Ismailism based on the classic works of its literature, the author of the *Azhâr* appears to be entirely bent on controversy, focusing his work on the vindication of the Shi'ite theory of the rights of 'Alî b. Abî Ṭâlib to Imamat. The *ḥaqâ'iq* occupy in his work only a secondary place.

Vol. I. 1. *Muqaddima*, giving titles of books which the author perused, references to his journey to Arabia, eulogies of the *dâ'î* (20) al-Ḥasan b. Idrîs (d.918/1512). It may be noted that the author uses the term *ta'rîkh*, history, in the sense of tradition.

2. *Faṣl fî asmâ' an-Nuṭaqâ'*.

3. *'Alî b. Abî Ṭâlib*, eulogical biography.

4. *al-A'imma*, arranged in heptades (*usbû'*).

5. *Faṣl fî ta'rîkh wafât al-ḥudûd wa'd-du'ât*, merely giving the dates of their deaths. Very few dates refer to the eminent authors of the Fatimid period. The last date is 933/1527, probably added later.

6. On dates and eras, and on important events in Islamic history.

7. *Faṣl . . . fî ithbât Imâmat . . . 'Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib*, etc.

Vol. II: 1. The transfer of the *da'wat* centre to the Yaman, and early *dâ'îs* till the author's time (with a special note on Idrîs b. Ḥasan).

2. *Faṣl*: periods of *satr* in history. *Ikhwân aṣ-Ṣafâ*.

3. Astrological and traditional predictions of events connected with the Imams; early history of Shi'ism; Messianic expectations.

4. From the *Tuḥfat al-qulûb* by Ḥâtim b. Ibrâhîm (see no. 216).

5. More on the Yamanite *dâ'îs*.

6. From *al-Mûjizat al-Kâfiya* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad an-Naysabûrî, on the duties of *dâ'î* (cf. no. 118).

7. *al-Qaṣîdat at-Tis'ûniyya* by (Aḥmad b.) al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alî b. Muḥammad b. al-Walîd (cf. no. 257).

Vol. III: 1. From the *Niẓâm al-wujûd wa tartîb al-ḥudûd*, by 'Alî b. Muḥammad b. al-Walîd (the fifth Yamanite *dâ'î*, d. 612/1215) (cf. no. 242). It gives a list of dignitaries, with very few dates.

2. From *al-Munîra fî ma'rifat marâtib ḥudûd al-jazîra*, by 'Abd Allâh b. 'Alî b. Muḥammad b. Ḥâtim, the 16th *dâ'î* (d. 809/1407), cf. above, no. 265, on the beginning of the *da'wat* at the period of the *satr*. Many names are mentioned, but almost no dates.

3. *ar-Risâlat ilâ jamâ'at ahl ar-Ray*, an epistle of the *dâ'î* al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Mayhadî (?) to the community of Ray, see above, no. 114.

4. *ar-Riwâyat al-jayyida min khabar al-baraniyya fî ta'yîn makân Mawlâ-nâ aṭ-Ṭayyib ba'd al-istitâr*, a story by a certain 'Abd 'Alî b. Maḥmûd concerning the place of Ṭayyib's concealment.

5. *Qaṣîda*, by Ismâ'îl b. Abî Bakr.

6. *Qaṣîda*, by Ḥâdî b. Ibrâhîm, a refutation of the Sufis.

7. From *Aṭbâq adh-dhahab*, etc.

8. From polemics between al-Mu'ayyad *fî'd-dîn* and Abû'l-'Alâ al-Ma'arrî, from the *Mi'ât*.

Vol. IV. 1. A short *muqaddima*.

2. From the *Tanbîh al-Hâdî wa'l-Mustahdî* by Sayyid-nâ Ḥamîd ad-dîn al-Kirmânî (no. 127), – the beginning, *bâbs* 14, 26, 27, 13.

3. From *Kitâb al-Iḥtijâj* by Raḍiyyu'd-dîn Abû 'Alî aṭ-Ṭabarsî (d. 548/1153, cf. B-I, 405; BS-I, 709), the well known Ithna-'ashari theologian, on the vindication of the preferential rights of 'Alî to Imamat, and sinful innovation, *bid'a*, of those who do not follow the Shi'ite doctrine. The text of the *Iḥtijâj* is here much abbreviated.

4. From the 13th *bâb* of the *Jâmi' al-ḥaqâ'iq*, i. e. the summary of the *Majâlis* of Sayyid-nâ al-Mu'ayyad by Ḥâtim b. Ibrâhîm (no. 214), beg. with the *first majlis* of the *fifth Mi'a*, the refutation of the theories of *K. al-Istirshâd* by ath-Thughûrî (the work itself is apparently lost). Refutation of wrong interpretation of certain verses of the Coran found in various *tafsîrs*, and in the works of the *"ghulât al-Ḥashwiyya"* - the Sufis.

5. From *K. at-Tanbîh* by an anonymous, but apparently Ismaili author (*li-ba'ḍ aṣ-ṣâliḥîn*), a quotation, in reply to certain questions on the same controversial subject.

6. Extract from a *qaṣîda* by al-Ḥimyarî, also on the same subject.

Vol. V. 1. *Al-Qaṣîdat al-Mukhtâra* (or *al-Muntakhaba*, or *Urjûza*) by Qâḍî Nu'mân (no. 70), complete, on the rights of 'Alî and the succession of Imams, one after another, until the

advent of the Mahdî. Sects of Islam and refutation of the erring ones.

2. Biography of 'Alî from the second and third vols. of the *'Uyûn al-Akhbâr* by Idrîs b. Ḥasan.

3. From the *Ikhtilâf Uṣûl al-Madhâhib* by Qâḍî Nu'mân (no. 73).

4. From *al-Ḥadâ'iq al-Wardiyya* by Abû 'Abd Allâh Ḥamîd b. Aḥmad (al-Maḥallî al-Yamânî), d. 652/1254, see B-I, 325), - *fî dhikr dhamm az-Zaydiyya*, a Sunnite work.

5. From *at-Ta'rîkh al-Mukhtaṣar* (?) by al-Mu'ayyad ash-Shâfi'î and others, chiefly concerned with the interpretations of different verses of the Coran as to their bearing on the doctrine of Imamat.

6. *al-Qaṣîdat al-Mîmiyya* by al-Khaṭṭâb (cf. no. 241).

Vol. VI. It is a bulky volume of over 1000 pages or more, of large size, with practically no subdivisions, each section usually merging into another without any indication.

1. *Al-Munâẓarât al-latî jarat bayn ad-dâ'î Abî 'Abd Allâh ṣâḥib da'wat al-Maghrib wa bayn Abî 'Abd Allâh Ja'far b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Aswad b. al-Hashîm.* Strangely, in F. it appears that the dispute wes going between Abû 'Abd Allâh b. Muḥammad, in other words Imam Ja'far, and ... ? The subject of the disputation were the rights of 'Alî, and his virtues.

5. From the *Nahj al-balâghat.*

6. From various Sunnite works on tradition and *tafsîr*, on the same subject.

7. From the 15th *bâb* of the *Jâmi' al-ḥaqâ'iq* (cf. no. 214).

8. From *Kitâb al-mafâkhir wa'l-ma'âthir* by Ḥâtim b. Ibrâhîm (cf. no. 218).

9. From *K. Sharḥ al-Mulûk* (?), *bâb* 22, the *waṣiyya* of 'Alî to Kumayl ibn Ziyâd on *'ilm* and "those who are endowed with it".

10. From *al-Majlis al-Azhar fî faḍl Ṣâḥib al-Kawthar* (by Ḥâtim b. Ibrâhîm), on Ghadîr Khum (cf. no. 223).

11. On Fâṭima and her sufferings, from vol. ii of *'Uyûnu'l-Akhbâr*, *Majlis* 46 of *Mi'at* IV, and *Maṭâli' al-anwâr* (a non-Ismaili work).

12. On the Imams Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, from vol. IV of *'Uyûn al-Akhbâr.*

13. *Urjûza*, by al-Mu'ayyad.

Vol. VII. 1. On adversaries *(aḍdâd)* of every *Waṣî*, Iblîses of every epoch, and the *a'immat aḍ-ḍalâl*, from *Jâmi' al-ḥaqâ'iq* (see no. 224), passages from *Mi'at* i, ii, iii, iv, v, vii. Interpretation of relevant verses from the Coran.

2. From the same: *Ithbât wujûb al-masḥ 'alâ'r-rijlayn*, etc., with references to the works of Muslim and Bukhârî.

3. From *Hidâyat aṭ-Ṭâlibîn wa iqâmat al-ḥujjat fî îḍâḥ al-ḥaqq al-mubîn (fî jawâb al-mâriqîn min ahl al-Hind)* by Idrîs b. Ḥasan (see no. 282).

4. On the orthodox' objection to the Ismailis' starting fast according to the calendar date, end not visibility of the new moon, from the 42nd *majlis* of the first *Mi'a* and *majlis* 20 of the second *Mi'a*, as also in the *Sîrat* of the author, al-Mu'ayyad *fî'd-dîn*. Also from *al-Lâzima fî ṣawm shahr Ramaḍân* by Sayyid-nâ Ḥamîd ad-dîn (no. 137).

5. *Fî bayân Wujûb ukhdh al-'uhûd ... wa'l-mawâthîq*, from the *Tanbîh al-Hâdî wa'l-Mustahdî* by Ḥamîd ad-dîn, the 28th *bâb.* (no. 127).

6. *Faṣl* 17 of *al-Waḍiyya*, on the same *'ahd* and *mîthâq* (cf. no. 129).

7. Extract from the 10th *bâb* of the *Jâmi' al-ḥaqâ'iq*, on the same subject (cf. no. 214).

8. On *ta'wîl* and *al-'ibâdat al-bâṭina*, also from the *Tanbîh al-Hâdî wa'l-Mustahdî* and *al-Waḍiyya* of Ḥamîd ad-dîn.

9. From the *Mi'at*, II, *majlis* 28–30; III, 8, 3; V, 67, 85, 98; III, 24; VI, 27–29; VIII, 61, and from other places of the same work, on the same subject.

10. From the *Asâs at-Ta'wîl* by Qâḍî Nu'mân.

11. From the end of the *Mukhtaṣar al-uṣûl* by 'Alî b. Muḥammad b. al-Walîd, on similar matters (see no. 251).

12. From *al-Îḍâḥ wa'l-bayân* by al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alî b. Muḥammad b. al-Walîd (cf. no. 255).

13. *Ithbât at-Ta'wîl* from the *R. al-Kâfiya* by Sayyid-nâ Ḥamîd ad-dîn al-Kirmânî (no. 143).

14. From *K. al-Iftikhâr* (by Abû Ya'qûb Sijzî), *bâb* 22 *fî ma'rifat ukhdh al-ta'wîl min al-Qur'ân*. (cf. no. 36).

15. From the same, *bâb* 13, on *wuḍû'* and *ṭahârat; bâb* 14 on *ṣalât; bâb* 15 on *zakât*; *bâb* 16 on *ṣawm*, etc.

16. On the opinions of those orthodox theologians who in their *tafsîrs* recognised the legitimacy of *ta'wîl*.

17. On what is said in the *tafsîr* called *Shifâ' aṣ-ṣudûr* by Abû Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan an-Naqqâsh (al-Mawṣilî, d. 351/962, see B-I, 521; BS-I, 334). Also the ideas of al-Baghawî al-Farrâ' (al-Ḥusayn b. Mas'ûd al-Baghawî, d. 510 or 516/1116-1120, see B-I. 363; BS-I, 620, his main work *Maṣâbîḥ as-Sunnat* is apparentiy intended here).

18. *Qaṣîda* by an anonymous author.

Yûsuf Najm ad-Dîn b. Sulaymân, the 24-th *dâ'î*, d. 16 Dh.H. 974/24-6-1567.

(**293**) *Majma' al-fiqh* (?)

(**294**) *Risâla*, appended to *al-Mûqiẓa min nawm al-ghaflat*, see no. 267.

'Abd Allâh al-Ma'dhûn, flourished in the middle of the tenth/sixteenth c.

(**295**) *ar-Rayḥân al-Badî' fî sharḥ zahrat rawḍat ar-rabî'* (was lithographed).

Sham'ûn b. Muḥammad al-Ghûrî (?), flourished towards the end of the tenth/sixteenth c.

(**296**) *as-Su'âl wa'l-Jawâb*, also called *al-Masâ'il ash-Sham'ûniyya*.

(**297**) *al-Istirshâd*, on rel. controversy.

Sayyid-î Amîn-jî b. Jalâl, an eminent Bohora jurist, d. at Aḥmadâbâd the 13th Shawwâl 1010/6-4-1602.

(**298**) *Ḥisâb al-mawârîth*, tables of shares in inheritance to be divided between the relatives of the deceased.

(**299**) *as-Su'âl wa'l-jawâb fî'l-fiqh*, also called *Masâ'il Amîn-jî b. Jalâl*, a collection of legal decisions.

(**300**) *al-Ḥawâshî*, an illustrative collection of legal cases and decisions by different authorities, a kind of a commentary on certain sections of the *Da'â'imu'l-Islâm*, in two vols. It is not clear whether this is the same work as the preceding one.

(**301**) *al-Muntakhaba al-manẓûma*, a versified summary of some theories of *fiqh*.

Khawj b. Malik of Kapadwanj, flourished in the beginning of the xi/xvii c., and died shortly before 1021/1612.

(**302**) *Badhr al-bidâyat*, vindication of the succession of the 27-th *dâ'î* of the Dawudis, which was much disputed. It is apparently the same work as the one known as *Ithbât al-khaṣâ'il ithnayn wa thalâthîn li-Sayyidi-nâ Dâwûd*.

(**303**) *Sitt rasâ'il*, or *Majmû' ar-Rasâ'il as-sitt*, a collection of six short notes on the history of the Ismaili community in India, based on legend, and the split between the Dawudis and Sulaymanis. The collection, about 275 pages long, is composed of: *Surûr al-Awliyâ'*, on the exit of Dâwûd b. 'Ajab Shâh from Aḥmadâbâd to Kapadwanj in 991/1583. 2. *Badhr al-Maḥabbat wa'sh-Shifâ'*, on his marrying his son in 995/1587, and other similarly important events. 3. *Ḥadîqat an-ni'am*, on his shifting to Cambay, the next year. 4. *Badhr al-bidâyat* (the same as no. 302?), on his shifting (again) to Kapadwanj in 998/1590. 5. *Ḥadîqat al-jinân*, on his imprisonement in Ahmadabad in 1002/1593. 6. *Khaṣâ'il Dâwûd b. Quṭb Shâh*. These six *risâlas* are summed up and amplified in a work, subdivided into four *bâbs*, by an anonymous author, each *bâb* subdivided into several *faṣls*: 1. history of Ismailism in India; 2. biography of Dâwûd b. 'Ajab Shâh; 3. biography of Dâwûd b. Quṭb Shâh; 4. geography of localities inhabited by the Ismailis, on noteworthy graves, names of Ismaili dignitaries, and biography of the author of the original six *Risâlas*, Khawj b.

Malik. Several appendices at the end, chiefly extracts from different histories of Gujrat.

Ḥasan b. Idrîs b. 'Alî b. Ḥusayn b. Idrîs b. Ḥasan, d. about 1021/1612.

(**304**) *az-Zawâhir al-bahiyya wa'l-bawâhir ash-shahiyya fî'l-ma'âthir al-munâfiyya wa'l-mafâkhir al-anafiyya*. A history of Ismailism in in the Yaman under the Imams and the *dâ'îs*, up to the beginning of the eleventh/seventeenth century.

(**305**) *al-Kutub wa'r-Rasâ'il li-du'ât al-Yaman*, a collection of correspondence of the Yamanite *dâ'îs*.

(**306**) *al-Mufrida*, a scurrilous refutation of a Sulaymani treatise by Muḥammad b. al-Fahd.

(**307**) *Dîwân* of poetry.

Âdam Ṣafiyyu'd-dîn b. Ṭayyib Shâh, the 28-th Dawudi *dâ'î*, d. the 7-th Rajab, 1030/28-5-1621.

(**308**) *R. fî kayfiyyat ibtidâ' da'wat al-hâdiya fî jazîrat al-Hind*. A history of the Ismaili community in India since the time of the Imam al-Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh, when *dâ'î* 'Abd Allâh came to Khanbayat (Cambay) by order of Lamak b. Malik, and converted Raja Sidrâj Singh. Events in Ahmadabad, heresy of Ja'far, etc. This work is well-known in a Gujrati version, under the title of *Balî Medû*.

(**309**) *Nibrâs aṭ-Ṭurûs fî ma'rifat an-nufûs*, a collection of short articles and extracts on *nafs*, Imâmat, etc.

'Abd aṭ-Ṭayyib Zakî ad-Dîn b. Dâwûd b. Quṭb Shâh, the 29-th Dawudi *dâ'î*, d. 2nd Rab. I, 1041/28-9-1631.

(**310**) *R. al-Abâ' wa'l-Ummahât*, on the rights of parents over their children.

'Abd al-Qâdir Ḥakîm ad-dîn b. Mullâ Khân b. Ḥabîb Allâh the brother or the 39-th *dâ'î* who died in 1142/1730.

(**311**) *al-Urjûza fî bayân mâ fî sunnat min sunan aṣ-ṣalât*, a versified treatise on the elements of religious worship.

(**312**) *Dîwân* or poetry.

(**313**) *Kalîla wa Dimna*, on the subject obviously suggested by the *Ikhwân aṣ-Ṣafâ* but developed into a discussion of: *tawḥîd, ṣûrat al-arḍ, aqâlîm, ṣifât al-'uqûl as-sab'a*, etc. This work is also known by the name of *K. al-Burhân*.

(**314**) *Bulûhar wa Budhâṣaf*, another inspiration from the same source.

(**315**) *at-Tadhkîrât fî'l-Mawâ'iz wa'n-Naṣîḥât*, in 65 *faṣls*, a collection of instructive stories, originally written by a non-Ismaili author, but adopted to Ismaili ideas by Ḥakîm ad-dîn.

Ḥasan b. Dâwûd, apparently an author of the twelfth/seventeenth century.

(**316**) *Dîwân* of poetry, collected and edited by 'Abd al-Kalîm b. Ismâ'îl, about the middle of that century.

(**317**) *al-Urjûza fî asmâ' ad-du'ât*.

Âdam b. 'Abd aṭ-Ṭayyib (the latter died in 1110/1699).

(**318**) *al-Kalîmiyya*, an epistle sent by him from Udaipur to the 36-th Dawudi *dâ'î* Kalîm ad-dîn Mûsâ (d. 22 Rab. II, 1122/30-6-1710).

Ḥasan b. Mullâ Shams Khân (the middle of xii/xviii c.)

(**319**) *at-Tadhkîra*, the story of the martyrdom of Quṭb ad-dîn (or Quṭb-Khân) b. Dâwûd, the 32nd Dawudi *dâ'î*, executed at Ahmadabad the 27 Jum. II 1056/10-8-1616, also of Fîr (i. e. Pîr) Khân, Isma'îl b. Mullâ Râj, and others.

Mullâ Hibat Allâh b. Walî Muḥammad, flourished probably about the same period.

(**320**) *Tadkhîra*, on the same subject, as the preceding work (the date of composition is not certain).

Ibrâhîm Wajîh ad-dîn b. 'Abd al-Qâdir, the 39th *dâ'î*, d. 17 Muḥarram 1168/3-9-1754.

(**321**) *al-Kutub wa'r-Rasâ'il*, a collection of epistles addressed to Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Wazir al-Ḥarâzî, Âdam b. Nûr ad-dîn, and others.

(**322**) *al-Kurâsat al-Wajîhiyya*, a treatise on ethics.

An anonymous Dawudi author. The work is mentioned in F.

(**323**) *al-Jawhar ath-thamîn fî ta'wîl sûrat Yâ-Sîn*, composed in 1156/1743.

Luqmân Wajîh ad-dîn b. Ḥabîb Allâh, d. 8 Jum. II 1173/27-1-1760, a prolific author contemporary with the author of F.

(**324**) *'Ibrat fî ṭâ'at ad-dâ'î al-mukhṭî*, a condemnation of those who do not accept the belief in the infallibility (*'iṣmat*) of the *dâ'î'l-muṭlaq*. Completed in Dolkha on the 28th of Muḥarram 1157/13-3-1744.

(**325**) *Risâlat Aflâṭûn*, on ethics, in eight *faṣls*.

(**326**) *R. fî muqâbalat mâ atâ fî'ṣ-Ṣaghîrat al-jadîdat*, on the supposed *naṣṣ* of the 28th *dâ'î* to the 29th.

(**327**) *al-Mawâ'iz fî adâ' az-zakât*.

(**328**) *al-Majmû' al-Wajîhî fî adâ' az-zakât* (the same as the preceding work?), divided into seven *risâlas*: 1. *al-Maw'iẓa;* 2. letter to Raḥîm Bhâî b. Qâsim-jî; 3. letter to Jîwâ b. Râj; 4. to Mâlik b. Dûsî; 5. to Miyân Bhâî-jî; 6. *R. ukhdh al-ḥaqq wa tark ḍiddi-hi;* 7. *R. fî'z-zakât*.

(**329**) *ar-R. al-Wajîhiyya fî tartîb ad-dîn wa tabyîn farḍ shahr Ramaḍân*, etc.

(**330**) *al-Mukhtaṣarat al-wajîhiyya*, on the *naṣṣ* to 'Ali at Ghadîr Khum. It has an appendix:

(**331**) *al-Mukhtaṣar al-Badri*.

(**332**) *al-Mukhtaṣarat al-Wajîhiyya fî'l-ṭâ'at wa'l-qabûl li'l-amr wa'n-nahy 'alâ kull ḥâl*, etc., based on the *Majâlis* of Abû'l-Barakât (see no. 185).

(**333**) *Sîrat 'Abd al-Qâdir b. Mullâ Khân*.

(**334**) *Sîrat ad-du'ât al-masnûna* (was translated into Gujrati, and printed).

(**335**) *K. ash-Sharîf fî mabâḥith al-firqat as-Sulaymâniyya*.

(**336**) *al-Ḥujaj al-muḍiḥât 'alâ'l-Hujûmiyya*.

(**337**) *R. fî'r radd 'alâ'l-Hujûmiyya*, completed the 28th Ram. 1157/4-11-1744. The same as the preceding work? Not in F.

Shaykh Quṭb (ad-dîn) Bhâ'î Burhânpûri, flourished apparently in the second half of the xii/xviii c.

(**338**) *Muntaza' al-akhbâr fî akhbâr ad-du'ât al-akhyâr*, in two volumes, the first dealing wish the history of Ismailism from the beginning to the assassination of al-Âmir, and the second with the Yamanite and the Indian periods. It is a very useful summary of the substance of the different works of Idrîs b. Ḥasan, see above nos. 270, 271.

Shaykh Isma'il b. 'Abd ar-Rasûl b. Metha Khân b. Ḥabîb b. Yûsuf b. Shâh-Malik b. Sulṭân b. Muḥammad b. Badanjî b. Dûsâ b. Tarachand, a descendant of Lar Shâh. He died in 1183 or 1184/1769-1770, in Ujjain.

(**339**) *Fihrist a-lMajdû'*, or, to give it its full title, *al-Majmû' fî fihrist al-kutub*. It was composed before 1173/1760, because Luqmân b. Ḥabîb Allâh (cf. note 324) is referred to in terms implying

that he is still living. For details of its arrangement and contents see the Introduction, chapter 3. Other works:

(**340**) *ar-Radiyya fî bayân ar-ru'yâ' al-Wajîhiyya*, yet another biography of the 39-th *dâ'î* (cf. no. 321) and his son.

(**341**) *R. fî sîrat Luqmân b. Ḥabîb Allâh* (cf. no. 324).

(**342**) *al-Mu'ayyida fî muṭâbaqat al-umûr 'alâ'sh-sharî'at wa radd mâ (man?) lam ya'lam dhalik 'alâ Ṣâḥib ad-da'wat ar-râfi'a*, condemning those who deny the necessity of outward piety and devotion.

(**343**) *al-Wajîhiyya fî sîrat al-Kalîmiyya*, a biography of the 36-th *dâ'î*.

A number of works of the author of F., probably composed after the completion of his *Fihrist*, are still found in private collections, especially in his native town, Ujjain. I am adding here those the existence of which I could ascertain. Some of these mss. may be autograph copies.

(**344**) *R.* (or *K.*) *al-Iṣlâḥ*.

(**345**) *al-Jawâhir ath-thamîna* (?)

(**346**) *Kashf wujûh al-ma'âd*.

(**347**) *al-Majmû' al-Mufîd*, a collection of notes on *ḥaqâ'iq*, and generally esoteric matters, in the handwriting of the author. Perhaps the same work as the *Majmû' fî'l-Fawâ'id* (in another collection).

(**348**) *al-Masâ'il*, a collection of notes.

(**349**) *al-Muntakhab fî'l-Fiqh*.

(**349-A**) *Zubdatu's-siyar wa'l-Âdâb*. A voluminous compilation by a Bohora author whose name is not mentioned at the beginning, and, as the copy is incomplete, does not appear at the end. As stated in the *muqaddima*, the work was compiled during the dâ'î-ship of the 43rd Bohora *dâ'î*, 'Abd 'Alî Sayfu'd-dîn, d. 1232/1817, to whom longevity is invoked. The work is divided into seven *bâbs:* on prayers, *zakât, riwâyât wa ḥikâyât*, respect to parents and rules of behaviour for women, 5. *fî'l-âdâb wa's-siyar*; 6. instructive stories from the (apocryphal) sermons of 'Alî b. Abî Ṭâlib,

etc. 7. *ikhtilâf al-madhâhib*. The last two chapters are missing in the copy which was examined. The word *siyar* in this compilation is used in the sense of pious lives, not in the sense of "biographies".

The compiler simply copied passages from the well-known early works which, fortunately, he names in the text. It is difficult to say whether the book was completed by him. It breaks in the fifth chapter, and this is already 434 large pages.

Sharaf 'Alî Sîdhpûrî, flourished in the second half of xiii/xix c.

(**350**) *Riyâḍ al-jinân* (was lithogr. in Bombay).

(**351**) *'Uyûn al-ma'ârif*, on controversial religious questions. Lithogr. in Bombay in 1297/1880, but later was proscribed by the Government.

'Abd al-Ḥusayn b. Ibrâhîm as-Sayfî, second half of the xiii/xix c.

(**352**) *Dîwân* of poetry.

(**353**) *Lubb al-lubâb*.

(**354**) *Tuḥfat al-Ikhwân*, a commentary on four *risâlas* from the *Ikhwân aṣ-Ṣafâ*.

Muḥammad 'Alî Hamadânî, end xiii/xix c.

(**355**) *R. al-hijrat*, on a futile attempt to find the hidden Imam.

Ja'far-ji Najmî, beg. xiv/xx c.

(**358**) *Riyâḍ ash-shuhadâ'*, a popular work on lives of the Imams, was lithographed in 1303/1886.

(**360**) *Ka'bat al-mafâkhir*, lithogr. in Bombay in 1307/1889.

Muḥammad-ʿAlī, d. in 1315 or 1316/1897-9.

(**361**) *Mawsim-i bahâr*, in three vols., in Gujrati with much admixture of Arabic. The third vol. was completed first, in 1299/1882, and was soon lithographed. It deals with the history of the Yamanite and Indian *dâʿîs*. The first and second vols. followed soon. The first vol. was again lithogr. in 1301/1884, and the first and second – again about 1311/1893. When sold out, the first two vols. were reprinted, but another edition was prohibited by the priestly clique.

Appendix I.

Works the date of which cannot be ascertained:

Dâʿî ʿAbd aṭ-Ṭayyib. As there were three *dâʿîs* who had that name, in the eleventh/seventeenth c., it would be difficult to ascertain the date of the work without its study.

(**362**) *R. ilâ'l-mu'minîn min ahl Dungarhpur.*

Ibrâhîm al-Hindî (?)

(**363**) *R. fî ta'wîl aḥâdîth an-Nabî*, divided into 30 *majlises*, of which only eight are preserved.

Appentix II.

Works of which neither the Authors nor the Dates of Composition are known.

(Arranged in alphabetical order of Titles).

(**366**) *al-Âdâb ad-dîniyya*, div. into 14 *faṣls*. Cf. no. 381.

(**367**) *al-Adwâr wa'l-Akwâr*, an early work? F. - not seen.

(**368**) *ʿAhd al-awliyâ'*, the formula of *mîthâq*, different for men and women. There is also an Urdu version of this.

(**369**) *al-Amn min al-ḥayrat*, an elementary treatise on worship, divided into 23 *bâbs*.

(**370**) *al-Ashbâḥ wa'l-Aẓilla* (*"min baʿḍ min al-ḥudûd al-bulaghâ'*), a work, definitely belonging to the Yamanite period, of gnostic contents (mentions seven Adams, seven Iblises, etc.)

(**371**) *R. al-Ayyâm.*

(**372**) *al-Baḥth fî'l-ḥaqâ'iq fî dhikr al-ʿâll wa'l-ʿilla wa'l-maʿlûl.*

(**373**) *al-Balâgh al-kabîr* (or *Akbar?*), apparently an ancient work, mentioned by different old authors (e. g. Ḥamîdu'd-dîn and Nâṣir-i Khusraw), although most probably not belonging to the Ismaʿîlî literature. It was also called *R. an-Nûrâniyya* (?)

(**374**) *K. adh-Dhât wa'ṣ-ṣûrat*, quoted in *Azhâr*, i.

(**375**) *Ḍiyâ' al-abṣâr wa jalâ' al-afkâr.*

(**376**) *Ghâyat al-laṭâ'if wa'l-kathâ'if*, by some ascribed to Muḥammad b. Ṭâhir, by others to Dhu'ayb.

(**377**) *Ḥadîth ijtimâʿ al-ithnâ ʿashar bâban li-bâb Mawlâ-nâ al-ʿAzîz*, cited in MT. (cf. p. 57).

(**378**) *Iltihâb nîrân al-aḥzân wa muthîr al-ashjân*, biographies of saints.

(**379**) *ʿIshrûn mâ'ida fî'l-ḥaqâ'iq*, 20 answers to questions on spiritual matters, and 179 *mas'alas*.

(**380**) *ʿIshrûn masâ'il ta'wîliyya.*

(**381**) *Kalâm fî'l-âdâb*, cf. no. 366.

(**382**) *Kayfiyyat aṭ-ṭalab li-man arâd talkhîṣ min ḥabâ'il ash-Shayṭân.*

(**383**) *Kitâb as-sâʿat.*

(**384**) *al-Lâ'iḥa (fî bayân al-ʿâlam wa anna kulla-hâ majbûr baʿḍu-hâ taḥt baʿḍ)*, cited in MT. (cf. p. 59).

(**385**) *R. al-Maʿâd wa't-tawḥîd.* F – not seen.

(**386**) *al-Maʿârif al-ʿaqliyya.* F - not seen.

(**387**) *al-Mabâḥith at-tisʿa ʿani'l-ʿâlam*, cited in MT. (cf. p. 55).

(**388**) *Madkhal at-ta'wîl*, cited in *Azhâr* i.

(**388A**) *Maḥajjat al-irshâd wa mûḍiḥat li-sabîl an-najât min ʿâlam al-kawn wa'l-fisâd*, mentioned in MT ii.

(**389**) *Majâlis al-Abrâr.*

(**390**) *al-Majlis fî-hi nuzhat li'l-ʿuqûl wa'n-nufûs.*

(**391**) *Majmûʿ al-ḥaqâ'iq (mutawassiṭ bayna't-talwîḥ wa't-taṣrîḥ, fî aqâwîl ad-duʿât al-kibâr Jaʿfar b. Manṣûr al-Yaman, wa Ḥamîd ad-dîn, wa al-Muʾayyad wa ghayri-him)*, divided into seven *bâbs:* 1. *tawḥîd;* 2. *ibdâʿ;* 3. *inbiʿâth;* 4. *nafs;* 5. *uṣûl ad-dîn;* 6. *maʿâd;* 7. *ʿiqâb.*

(**392**) *Majmûʿ al-masâ'il fî'l-ḥaqâ'iq*, in thirteen *mas'alas:* 1. *al-ʿâlam ar-rûḥanî;* 2. *nâsût al-Imâm;* 3. *naqlat al-Imâm;* 4. *Âdam at-kullî ṣâḥib al-juththat al-ibdâ'iyya;* 5. *ahl dawr al-kashf kayf ajsâmu-hum;* 6. *aṣ-ṣûrat al-abaliyya;* 7. *ʿadhâb;* 8. *al-kawr al-aʿẓam;* 9. *mâ yukhallif al-kawâkib;* 10. *al-miswaqât;* 11. *al-Jinn al-ladhî qatala-hum Amîr al-muʾminîn:* 12. *ʿan Mawlâ-nû Ismâʿîl b. Jaʿfar wa'l-mawt al-ladhî aẓhara-hu thumm shuhid ḥayyan baʿd dhâlik bi'l-Baṣra;* 13. *kitâb al-fijâr.*

(**393**) *al-Majmûʿ ash-sharîf fî'l-ḥaqâ'iq.*

(**394**) *Mansakh al-ḥajj.*

(**395**) *al-Marâtib al-muḥiṭ bi-ashraf al-madhâhib*, divided into twelve *martabas*, and dealing with the basic religious beliefs such as *tawḥîd, ibdâʿ, nafs, ta'wîl*, etc.

(**396**) *Maʿrifat ar-rûḥ wa naṣṣ Abî Ṭâlib ʿalâ'n-Nabî.*

(**397**) *al-Maṣâbîḥ az-zâhira*, mentioned in Azhâr, i.

(**398**) *Masâ'il mashâ'ikh al-Hind min duʿât al-Yaman* (the same as *al-Ḥawâshî*?)

(**399**) *Maṣâ'il mustajîb al-ʿabd aṣ-ṣâliḥ*, mentioned in MT.

(**400**) *Mûḍiḥat at-talbîs wa dâḥiḍat at-tadlîs.*

(**402**) *al-Mukhtaṣara fî taḥqîq i'tiqâd al-Ismâʿîliyya*, divided into twelve *faṣls*. Proofs of the correctness of the Ismaili doctrine collected from the standard theological works of the Sunnites and the Shiʿites.

(**403**) *al-Mukhtaṣarat az-zâhira fî ta'kîd aʿmâl ash-sharîʿat az-ẓâhira.*

(**404**) *an-Nûrâniyya*, see *al-Balâgh al-kabîr*, no. 373.

(**405**) *K. an-Nuṣûṣ fî iʿtiqâd al-khuṣûṣ fî'n-nafs al-insâniyya.*

(**406**) *al-Qawl fî'r-Risâlat wa'l-Imâmat.*

(**407**) *Qiṣṣat al-arnab.*

(**408**) *Qiṣṣat Ismâʿîl.*

(**409**) *Qiṣṣat khabar aṭ-Ṭirimmâḥ.*

(**410**) *Qiṣṣat Ismâʿîl b. Ibrâhîm*, in verse, ab. 450 *bayts.*

(**411**) *Qiṣṣat al-Mukhtâr.*

(**412**) *Qiṣṣat ru'yat ad-dâʿî ʿAlî aṣ-Ṣulayḥî* (who d. in 473/1080).

(**413**) *Qiṣṣat Tamîm b. Ḥabîb ad-Dârî.*

(**414**) *Qiṣṣat aṭ-Ṭayyib.*

(**415**) *Shahâdat ash-shâhidîn ... yamîlûn ilâ ... ṣiḥḥat ʿâlam ad-dîn wa muqâbalati-hi bi-mâ fî-hâ.*

(**416**) *Sharḥ al-mulûk*, in *Azhâr* iv.

(**417**) *Sharḥ Simṭ al-ḥaqâ'iq*, cf. no. 253.

(**418**) *K. ash-Shaykh wa'sh-Shabb fî dhikr mâ jarâ bayna-hum fî ṭarîqi-himâ*, apparently an early work.

(**419**) *at-Taḥdhîr wa't-tandhîr*, apparently an early work on controversy.

(**420**) *K. at-Tanbîh*, an early work, extracts in *Azhâr* iv.

(**421**) *Taqâwîm al-aḥkâm ash-sharʿiyya.*

(**422**) *R. at-Tawḥîd.*

(**423**) *K. at-Tawḥîd fî sharḥ Khuṭbat Amîr al-muʾminîn.*

(**424**) *K. at-Tawḥîd wa'l-ḥaqâ'iq.*

(**425**) *Ta'wîl alif-bâ'.*

(**426**) *Ta'wîl amthâl al-Qur'ân.* F. - not seen.

(**427**) *Ta'wîl al-Qur'ân*, twenty *mas'alas* on *ḥaqâ'iq.*

(**428**) *Taʿyîn makân mawlâ-nâ aṭ-Ṭayyib baʿd al-istitâr. Azhâr*, iii.

(**429**) *Thawâqib al-budûr al-mutashaʿsha'a min ash-shumûs.*

(**430**) *Tuḥfat al-mustarshidîn.*

(**431**) *Ummahât al-Islâm. Azhâr* i.

(**432**) *R. al-Waḍiyya fî maʿrifat al-awṣiyâ'. Azhâr* i.

(**433**) *R. al-Waḍiyya fî wujûb al-bay'at wa ukhdh al-mithâq. Azhâr* i.

(**434**) *R. al-Wâ'iẓa fî-mâ bayna'l-atimmâ'*, etc.

(**435**) *R. al-Wajhiyya fî bayân istîdâ' Mawlâ-nâ Ḥusayn li-akhî-hi Muḥammad ibni'l-Ḥanafiyya wa amri-hi la-hu.*

(**436**) *Waṣiyyat al-Khâliq li'l-makhlûq.*

(**437**) *R. az-Ẓâhira fî jawâb al-Masâ'il.*

Appendix III.

Works by non-Ismaili Authors used and quoted by the Ismailis.

(**438**) *Maṭâli' al-anwâr fi'l-ḥikma*, by Abû Bakr Muḥammad (or Aḥmad) b. 'Alî b. al-Waḥshiyya an-Nabaṭî, d. at the end of the third/ninth c., cf. Brock. I, 243. Included in *Azhâr* vi.

(**439**) *Nahj al-Balâgha*, sermons of 'Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib, collected by as-Sayyid ash-Sharîf ar-Raḍî, d. 436/1044, cf. Brock. I, 404, BS-I, 704.

(**440**) *al-Ghurar wa'd-durar fî akâlim Amîr al-mu'minîn*, by the same as-Sayyid ash-Sharîf, cf. Brock. I, 404; BS-I, 704.

(**441**) *Ghurar al-ḥikam wa durar al-kalim*, another collection of the sayings of 'Alî b. Abî Ṭâlib, by 'Abd al-Wâḥid al-Âmidî at-Tamîmî, d. about 510/1116, cf. Brock. I, 44, *"inkâran 'alâ'l-la'în Abî 'Uthmân al-Jâḥiẓ"*.

(**442**) *al-Ḥadâ'iq al-wardiyya fî dhikr dhamm az-Zaydiyya*, by Abû 'Abd Allâh Ḥamîd b. Aḥmad al-Maḥallî al-Yamanî, d. 652/1254, cf. Brock. I, 325. Quoted in *Azhâr* v.

(**443**) *Qaṣîdat fî dhamm as-samâ' wa ahli-hi*, by Ismâ'îl b. Abî Bakr al-Yamanî, d. 837/1433, cf. Brock. II, 190. Quoted in *Azhâr* iii.

Appendix IV. *Apocrypha.*

There are also other works ascribed to Mawlâ-nâ 'Alî, undoubtedly apocryphal, recognised by the Ismailis as belonging to their literature, such as:

(**444**) *Dîwân* of poetry.

(**445**) *Akâlîm Mawlâ-nâ 'Alî*, his sermons (also called *Khuṭab*).

(**446**) *Waṣiyyat*, moral admonitions uttered by him on his deathbed, included in the second volume of the *Da'â'im al-Islâm*. Cf. also A.A.A. Fyzee, "Ismaili law of wills", 1933.

(**447**) *Waṣiyyat*, moral bequeath, said to be given by him to Imam Ḥasan on the eve of the battle of Ṣiffîn (*Azhâr*, vi).

Several opuscules are ascribed to al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al-Ju'fî, an associate of Imam Ja'far, also probably quite apocryphal.

(**448**) *Riwâyat al-Aruzz*, see MT ii. Cf. no. 205 (36). Several other opuscules are obviously not genuine.

IV. THE LITERATURE OF THE SULAYMANIS.

The Sulaymani branch of the Musta'lian Ismailis is *not* a separate *sect* of the Musta'lian community, differing in either essential dogmas, or even the smallest details of belief or worship. The only point of difference from the Dawudis is that the Sulaymanis recognise a sequence of *dâ'îs*, after the twenty sixth in succession, different from those of the Dawudis. Intrigue and fraud at succession which opens access to the communal treasury, were an endemic feature of the organisation, as it still remains to this day. In the case of the Dawudi-Sulaymani split the matters were brought to a head by external causes. The twenty-seventh *dâ'î*, Sulaymân b. al-Ḥasan, lived in the Yaman, which was the metropolis, and did not want to go to the colony, India, which economically attained far greater importance than the old home of the sect. This offered an opportunity to the party of the Indian candidate, Dâwûd b. Quṭb-Shâh, to retain the authority, thus creating a split. The Dawudis at present greatly outnumber the Sulaymanis, but they recognise the same literature (produced before the split) as do the Sulaymanis, while rejecting what was written after the parting of the ways. An exception is made by them only for a single work of Sulaymân b. al-Ḥasan, namely:

(449) *an-Nukhabu'l-mulṭaqata wa'z-zubad al-ma'khûdha 'an awliyâ' Allâh*, in two vols. It is divided into seven *bâbs*, and deals with occultistic interpretation of Ismaili theosophy: 1. on *tawḥîd*; 2. on *ibdâ'* and *inbi'âth*; 3. *'âlam al-aflâk*; 4. *al-mawâlîd*; 5. *al-'âlam al-bashart*; 6. *ad-dawr aṭ-Ṭayyibî*.

Other works by Sulaymân b. al-Ḥasan (d. 25 Ramaḍân 1005/12-5-1597) are not accepted. Their list is here reproduced without alterations from the first edition of this book, because no amount of effort could overcome the obstinacy of the Sulaymânî mullas not only to lend a full list, but even to revise and supplement that which has already been printed.

On the whole, this is no great loss because, as one may see, except for a few works, all this literary production is entirely

devoted to the nauseatic quarreling with the Dawudis, who, in their turn, have reciprocated the attacks in no less attractive spirit.

(450) *al-Abjadiyya dhâtu'l-asrâri'l-Aḥmadiyya.*

(451) *al-'Adadu'd-dâ'ir* (?).

(452) *al-Anwâr fî ṭḍâḥi'l-asrâr.*

(453) *al-Bayân li-ḥaqâ'iqi'l-'adl wa'l-iḥsân.*

(454) *al-Bayân wa'n-naṣṭḥat wa'l-mawâ'iẓ.*

(455) *ad-Da'wat li'l-khâṣṣat wa'l-'âmmat wa li-indhâr bi-yawmi'ṣ-ṣaḥḥat wa'ṭ-ṭâmmat.*

(456) *Dîwân.*

(457) *Dukhûl shuhûr sanat bi-ayyâmi'l-usbû'.*

(458) *Fatḥu'l-akmâm wa'ẓ-ẓuhûr fî shay' min asrâri'l-ayyâmi's-sab-'at al-latî 'alay-hâ mabnâ'd-duhûr.*

(459) *Funûnu'l-ma'ârif wa 'uyûnu'l-laṭâ'if.*

(460) *al-Ḥikmatu'l-bâhira fî'n-nishâ'ati'l-ûlâ wa'n-nishâ'ati'l-âkhira.*

(461) *al-ṭḍâḥ wa'l-bayân fî . . . iqâmati'l-ḥujaj ilâ kâfati'l-ikhwân.*

(462) *al-ṭḍâḥ wa't-tarîf fî kull ma'nâ fâḍil sharîf.*

(463) *al-I'dhâr wa't-ta'rîf wa'l-irshâd wa'l-indhâr wa't-takhwîf bi-azwâq yawmi't-tanâd.*

(464) *'Idḥâḍu't-talbîs aṣ-ṣâdir 'an Ḥasan b. Idrîs.*

(465) *Iqdu'l-jawâhiri'n-nafsâniyya wa simṭu'd-durari'r-rûḥâniyya.*

(466) *Ishâratu'l-'adadi'l-hâdiya ilâ'n-nahji'l-asadd.*

(467) *Ma'dharatu'l-muta'âsî wa tadhkiratu'l-muqtadî'l-mutanâsî wa kitâb sharîf balîgh ilâ Dâwûd b. Quṭb fî'l-ḥujjat.*

(468) *Majâlisu'l-ḥikma wa'l-bayân wa iẓhâr ta'wîl khawâṣṣi'l-'adad bi'l-ḥujjat wa'l-burhân.*

(469) *Mukhtaṣar Zubdi'l-'ulûmi'l-mulqiḥa li'l-adhhân wa'l-ḥulûm.*

(470) *al-Mukhtaṣara fî'l-wa'ẓ wa't-tadhkira.*

(471) *al-Mukhtaṣara li-ibdâ'i'l-ma'dhara.*

(472) *Mukhtaṣara . . . 'alâ sabîli'l-wa'ẓ wa't-tanbîh wa't-tadhkira.*

(473) *R. al-Munabbiha'alâ itbâ' sabîli'l-wâḍiḥ bi'd-dalâ'il wa'l-mathâlât wa'l-barâhîni'l-lawâ'iḥ.*

(474) *R. al-Mukhtaṣaratu'l-Munsha'a li'l-ikhwân 'alâ sabîli't-tadhkira.*

(475) *R. al-Munsha'a li'l-ikhwân . . . fi'l-ḥazz 'alâ'l-qiyâm bi-sharâ'iṭi'l-Islâm.*

(476) *Muntahâ'l-ghâyât fî ma'rifat mamthûli'l-âyât.*

(477) *Mushayyidat arkâni'd-dîn fî ta'yîn marâtibi'l-ḥudûd wa'l-maḥdûdîn.*

(478) *R. Naẓmu'l-'adadi'l-fard.*

(479) *R. Naẓmu'l-'adadi'z-zawj.*

(480) *Nubdhat fî istikhrâj ḥurûfi'l-Fâtiḥa.*

(481) *Nubdhat fî muqâbalat ḥurûf Ibrâhîm li'l-'adadi't-tâmm wa'l-'adadi'l-kâmil.*

(482) *K. an-Nukhabi'l-multaqaṭa wa'z-zubadi'l-mustanbaṭa*, apparently the same work as No. 449, where the title is given in a slightly different form.

(483) *R. ash-Shâfiya fî dhawâti'l-mawâ'izi'l-kâfiya*

(484) *K. ash-Sharîf*, a collection of letters on *nafs*.

(485) *Shifâ'u'ṣ-ṣudûr nukât mina'l-kitâbi'l-mastûr.*

(486) *R. ash-Shukr li'l-Mun'imi'l-Wahhâb 'alâ mâ fataḥ min jazîli'n-na'îm wa Huwa'r-Raḥîmu't-Tawwâb.*

(487) *R. as-Su'âl wa'l-ikhtibâr wa'z-zajr li'l-mudda'î 'an fi'lihi'dh-dhamîm wa'l-istikbâr.*

(488) *Tuḥfatu'l-arwâḥ wa farjatu'n-nufûsi'l-mulakhkhaṣa min 'ilmay al-ma'qûl wa'l-maḥsûs.*

(489) *R. Ṭanbû'u'l-farâ'iḍ wa majmû'u'l-qaṣâ'id.*

Ja'far b. Sulaymân b. Ḥasan, the son of the preceding *dâ'î*, and himself the 28th *dâ'î* of the Sulaymanis, d. the 29th Rab. ii, 1050/18 - viii - 1640. The present list of his works, alphabetically arranged, gives those of them only which were

composed by the author before 1029/1620, i. e. the date of the composition of the *Munîra*, by Muḥammad b. al-Fahd, from which it is taken.

(490) *Bayânu'l-arfa'u'l-asmâ al-ma'dûd bi'd-dalâ'ili'l-'uẓmâ.*

(491) *Dîwân*, several parts have special titles.

(492) *al-Hâdiya ilâ'n-nahji'l-qawîm al-mu'addiya ilâ Jannâti'n-na'îm.*

(493) *al-Ḥâṣiba li'l-firqati'l-kâdhiba fî nafyi-hâ kawn Sayyidi-nâ Sulaymân b. Ḥasan min ḥudûd Sayyidi-nâ Dâwûd b. 'Ajab a'lâ'l-lâh qudsay-himâ qâṭiba.*

(494) *Ḥayât arwâḥ ahli'l-îmân fî tafsîr alfâẓ naṣṣ Sayyidi-nâ Dâwûd b. 'Ajab ilâ Sayyidi-nâ Sulaymân.*

(495) *Jâmi'atu'l-farâ'iḍi'l-ḥasana fî ta'wîl-tartîbi's-sana.*

(496) *Jâmi'atu'sh-shaml wa'n-naql wa râḥatu'n-nafs wa'l-'aql.*

(497) *Majma'u'l-barâhîni'l-munbatha wa maqma' ash-Shayâṭîni'l-mukhbitha.*

(498) *al-Majâlisu'l-ashrafiyya as-Sulaymâniyya fî iḍâḥi'l-minhâj wa'l-wa'ẓ wa'l-iḥtijâj.*

(499) *al-Maqâmi'u'l-qâmi'a dhâtu'l-barâhîni'l-lâmi'a.*

(500) *al-Mubṣira mina'l-'amâ wa'l-mubṭila li-da'wati'l-a'wari'l-a'mâ'*

(501) *Mudhhibatu'z-zubad wa muthbitatu'z-zabad.*

(502) *al-Munjiya min gharqi'n-nufûs wa'l-muhlika li-man khâlaf aqwâl ṣâḥibi'n-nâmûs.*

(503) *Qâṣimatu'ẓ-ẓahr wa bâsimatu'th-thighr fî jawâb 'alâ mâ qîl fî ṣalât laylati'l-Qadr.*

(504) *Rawḍatu'l-akhbâr*, in four *juz's*: 1. *anbiyâ*; 2. Muḥammad; 3. 'Alî; 4. Imams.

(505) *ar-Rîḥu'l-'âṣif wa'z-za'za 'al-qâṣif.*

(506) *ash-Shuhubu'l-muḥriqa li-kull mufnid kafûr wa's-suḥubu'l-mundafi'a li-ḥayâti'l-jumhûr.*

(507) *as-Sihâmu'l-muṣîba li'l-qawmi'l-muḥdithîn li'l-bid'a fî'ṣ-ṣawm.*

(508) *Tuḥfatu'l-mustajîbi'n-najîb wa farjatu's-sâ'il wa'l-mujîb.*

(509) *Tuḥfatu'ṣ-ṣâliḥ as-salîm wa niqmatu'l-kâshiḥ al-anîm fî'l-jawâb 'alâ Risâlat (Amîn-jî) b. Jalâl ar-ramîm* (?)

(510) *az-Zahratu'z-zâhira fî zawâdi'l-âkhira.*

Ṣafiyyu'd-dîn Muḥammad b. al-Fahd al-Makramî, a Sulaymani dignitary who was an acting *dâ'î* (*ad-dâ'î'l-mustawda'*) during Ja'far b. Sulaymân's minority.

He died the lst Sha'bân, 1042/11 - 2 - 1633. The present list of his works, alphabetically arranged, seems to be complete up to 1029/1620, i. e. the date of the completion of the *Munîra.*

(511) *al-'Âmira li-wuddi'l-ikhwân al-Âmira bi'l-wazn wa'l-qisṭ fi'l-mîzân.*

(512) *Aqwâl la-hu* (i. e. Muḥam. b. Fahd) *fî'l-ḥujjat.*

(513) *al-Asliḥatu'l-muthqifa wa'l-ajwibatu'l-muskita al-mûqifa.*

(514) *Ḍâḥiyatu't-talbîs wa kâshifatu'l-tadlîs.*

(515) *Ḍarâ'ibu'l-ḥaqqi'l-muthkhina li-tadlîsi'l-bâṭili'l-muzmina.*

(516) *Kinânatu'l-mabâḥith.*

(517) *Malâwisu'n-nufûsi'l-muwaswisa al-jâliya 'an-hâ li-kudûrâti'l-aqwâli'l-mulbisa.*

(518) *Mawâḍi'l-qaḍb*, a refutation of the rights of Dâwud b. Quṭb-Shâh.

(519) *al-Muyaqqiẓa mina'n-nawm al-muwaqqifa 'alâ ḍalâli'l-muḥdithîn li'l-bid'a fi'ṣ-ṣawm.*

(520) *Mu'fiyatu'l-musta'fî mina'l-ḥajjâj.*

(521) *al-Mûḍiḥa li-barâhîn mu'jizati'l-ḥaqq.*

(522) *al-Muḥdhira mina'l-ightirâr bi'sh-shahâdati'l-muzawwara.*

(523) *al-Munîra li-qulûb dhawî'l-îmân wa'l-baṣîra fî'r-radd 'alâ ṣâḥibi'r-risâlati'l-Kabîra,* composed in 1029/1620.

(524) *al-Mushriqa fî . . . ? al-ma'rifa.*

(525) *al-Mutajarrida li'l-istinjâzi'l-'ida.*

(526) *Nâshirat alwiyati'l-ḥaqq wa a'lâmi-hi al-âkhidha mina'l-bâṭil bi-nawâṣî-hi wa aqdâmi-hi.*

(527) *Nawâdiru'l-akhbâr,* divided into fourteen *bâbs.*

(528) *Nujûmu'l-'aqâ'id al-munawwara wa rujûmu'sh-shahâ'idi'l-muzawwara.*

(529) *al-Qâṣima li-tamwîhâti'l-qaryati'ẓ-ẓâlima.*

(530) *al-Qâṭi'a li-watîni'l-labîs fî'r-radd 'alâ'l-mujlibîn 'alâ qânûni'sh-sharî'ati'l-ghurrâ' min dhawî't-tadlîs bi-qânûni'l-millati'l-bânyânîyya wa qiyâs Iblîs.*

(531) *ar-Rîḥu'l-'aqîm al-jâ'ila li-mâ ant 'alay-hi min talbîsât Dâwud b. Quṭb fî bid'ati'ṣ-ṣawm ka'r-ramîm.*

(532) *Shuhubu'l-ḥaqqi'l-murṣida 'alâ talâbîsi'l-mufrida.*

(533) *Ṭalâ'i'u'l-adillati'l-bâhira al-muthkhina li'sh-shubahi'l-muḍillati'l-âsira.*

(534) *K. at-Tanbîh,* sent to Miyâ-jî Shaykh 'Abdu'l-lâh.

(535) *aṭ-Ṭayru'labâbîl al-mursala' alâ tamwîhât Ismâ'îl.*

(536) *Thawâqibu'sh-shuhub fî- r-radd 'alâ Dâwud b. Quṭb.*

(537) *at-Tibyânu'l-marṣûṣ min mawâzîni'n-nuṣûṣ.*

(538) *Wâḍiḥatu'l-bayân fî 'âlî maḥall Sayyidi-nâ Sulaymân.*

(539) *Wâḍiḥatu'l-irshâd wa kâmilatu'l-istishhâd.*

(540) *al-Wujûhu'l-musaffara wa'l-barâhînu'l-munawwara al-qâḍiya bi-buṭlân da'wat Dâwud b. Quṭb wa shahâdat Âdam b. Ṭayyib.*

(541) *az-Zâhira dhâtu'l-barâhîni'l-bâhira.*

(542) *Zubdu'ṭ-ṭurûsi'l-mukhbiratu'l-burhâniyya 'al-mu'arriba 'ani'n-nuṣûṣi'l-muqarrarati's-Sulaymâniyya.*

Ḍiyâ'u'd-dîn Isma'îl b. Hibati'l-lâh b. Ibrâhîm, the 33rd - Sulaymânî *dâ'î,* d. the 16th Ṣafar 1184/11 - vi - 1770.

(543) *K. al-Mazâj wa't-tasnîm,* completed in 1169/1756. See Griffini, p. 87, H. 76, where a copy dated 1173/1760, from the autograph, is mentioned.

The text has been edited by Prof. R. Strothmann, «Ismailitischer Kommentar zum Koran», in the Abhandlungen der Aca-

demie der Wissenschaften in Goettingen, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Dritte Folge, no. 31. To my knowledge, so far four «Lieferungs» have appeared, the latest in 1955. As is not rare in the manuscripts copied in the Yaman, it contains many passages in cipher.

Malik Najmu'd-dîn b. Ṭayyib-'Alî, flourished in India towards the end of the thirteenth/nineteenth century.

(**544**) *Safîna*, an anthology of Sulaymânî and other poems and extracts.

(**545**) *Majmû' u'l-masâ'il*, dealing with various religious questions which were sent to the 42nd Sulaymânî *dâ'î*, Aḥmad b. Isma'îl (d. 18th Jum. ii 1306/19-ii-1889); one of them is the qestion whether there are references to America in the early religious Islamic literature. The autograph copy was written about Rab. ii 1280/Sept., 1863.

Muḥammad Aẓharu'd-dîn Ḥaydarâbâdî (doubtful whether he is the real author), flourished at the beginning of the fourteenth/twentieth century.

(**546**) *Akhbâri Sulaymânî wa âthâru'l-withânî*, in Urdu, a versified treatise on the origin of the split between the Sulaymanis and Dawudis, and a refutation of the latter, completed in Dh. Q. 1306/July, 1889. Lithographed in Bombay.

(**547**) *aṣ-Ṣaḥîfatu'l-Yamâniya*, a collection of prayers, of uncertain date, with explanations in Urdu, repeatedly lithographed in Bombay.

MUSTA'LIAN SUB-SECTS IN INDIA.

In addition to the Sulaymani-Dawudi split, which produced a lasting cleavage in the Musta'lian community, there were several sectarian developments in the course of its history. Those which are known originated not from anything like popular movements, but apparently were all engineered in the ruling priestly clique in the violent struggle for the control of communal funds. The most typical scheme was a declaration of so-and-so that he had come in contact with the hidden Imam, or his high dignitary, and received authority which over-rides that of the *dâ'î* in office. It is interesting, however, to see that in some of them it is possible to find traces of Hinduistic ideas, such as obligatory vegetarianism (Nâ-gushiyâ).

These sects usually had their days of success, however shortlived, and then fading out of the picture, at the best leaving behind what may be called token groups, living in isolation, surrounded by the atmosphere of bitter hostility of the members of the majority. Trying to find information about these developments I found that, - at least for a foreigner, - it is almost impossible to establish contact with them, or obtain any work of their literature. Some Dawudis coming from the localities in which members of such sects exist, assure that they have books of their own, which they hide from everybody. This seems quite trustworthy, because the originators of such movements usually were highly theologically educated persons who certainly embodied their ideas in works arguing their point of view. So far I have failed to get books of any of these sects, but as in such matters everything depends on chance, blind chance, I insert this short note to draw the attention of a student who perhaps may be incidentally in a position to get into that "prohibited area", perhaps unravelling valuable sidelights on Ismailism in general.

Just at present I have at my disposal only a single source of information in the form of a book with the title *"Gulzare*

Daudi for *(sic)* the Bohras of India (A short note on the Bohras of India, their 21 Imams and 51 Dais, with their customs and tenets. Compiled and published by Mian Bhai Mulla Abdul Husain, B.A.K.H.M.P.C.S., Burhanpur. "This note was meant to be a Supplement for *(sic)* an article on the Bohras printed on page(s) 15-23, Vol. XVII of the Ethnographic Survey, C. P." [No date of publication,-1920?] Printed at the Amarsinhji press, Ahmedabad, First edition, 500 copies). [Since long out of print and very scarce].

The book is technically helpless, in awkward English with innumerable misprints; it is, however, the work of an intelligent and well-informed author, a by-product of the then incipient protest movement of the better educated and advanced groups of the Bohoras against the enforced obscurantism and backwardness demanded by the priestly clique (which ultimately had to make very substantial concessions later on).

The brief account of the sub-sects occupies pp. 45-53. The first schismatic movement is mentioned in the beginning of the XV-th c., during the time of the 18-th *dâ'î* (821-832/1418-1429). A certain Ja'far, apparently a native of Ahmadabad, went for theological education to the Yaman, and on his return, under the patronage of the local orthodox Muhammadan authorities in Gujrat started a campaign for returning to Sunnism. The movement is known in Gujrati as that of Jafferias (Ja'farîs).

The next sect mentioned is "Aliâs" ('Alî-ites), which appeared during the time of the 28-th *dâ'î* (1021-1030/1612-1621). 'Alî b. Ibrâhîm, the grandson of the *dâ'î*, aspired to the nomination as his successor, but was ignored. His party, however, supported him, and he was recognised as a *dâ'î* by a minority. At present the sect still continues in existence only in Baroda, recognising their own succession of *dâ'îs*, but otherwise not differing from ordinary Dawudis. They, however, do not intermarry with the latter.

An offspring of the "Aliâs" was the sect of the "Nâgushiâs", also in Baroda. The founder (his name, unfortunately, is omitted) was excommunicated by the *dâ'îs* of the "Aliâs" line in 1789 for teaching a Hinduistic doctrine of the sinfulness of eating the flesh of animals. His followers therefore received the

name Nâ-gushiâs, Vegetarians. At present (1897) there were only four families of them. They do not intermarry with the Dawudis, but intermarry with the Aliâs.

The next development was also anti-*dâ'î* in character. It was started by the learned author of the *Fihrist al-Majdû'*, Ismâ'îl b. 'Abd ar-Rasûl, and his son, Hibat Allâh, of Ujjain, during the time of the 40-th *dâ'î* (1168-1193/1755-1779). Both were renowned for their great learning, but apparently had not enough support. They introduced a trick calculated on the credulity of the masses, saying that they were in direct contact with the hidden Imam through the *Dâ'î'l-balâgh*, 'Abd Allâh b. Ḥârith by name, by whom Hibat Allâh was appointed as *Ḥujjat al-Layl*, thus being of far higher standing than the *dâ'î* in office. They had an amount of success, and the sect is still in existence in Ujjain, but this evoked energetic opposition on the part of the priestly clique who set the crowd of their followers on Hibat Allâh. His nose was cut off by some fanatics. At present there is still a number of the *Hiptiyâs*, as they are called, in Ujjain, where they live in isolation from the Dawudis, never mixing or intermarrying with them.

The example of the founders of the Hiptiyâ sect found an able imitator in the person of a petty Bombay merchant, who settled in Nagpur, 'Abd al-Ḥusayn b. Jîwâ-Jî. About the year 1897 the exploits of the priestly clique evoked intense feelings of discontent and indignation in all classes of the Bohora community. Taking this into consideration, the bright Bombay shopkeeper declared that he established direct communication with the hidden Imam who appointed him as his *ḥujjat*. Crowds of Bohoras flocked to Nagpur to attend to his preaching. But the excitement soon subsided and only a small group of his followers remained faithful to him. They live as an isolated colony in a large estate called Mahdî-Bâgh (i.e. Mahdî's garden) in Nagpur. After this place they are named "Mahdî-Bâghwallâs".

V. THE LITERATURE OF THE DRUZES

The doctrine propounded by the literature of the Druzes to a great extent forms something like a "bridge" between the classic Fatimid ideas and the later beliefs of the fully developed Nizari Ismailism of the Safawid period in Persia which it anticipated by no less than five hundred years. This fact is the more noteworthy because of the circumstance that both, the Druzes and the Nizaris, as far as is possible to see from the historical information which is available, never came in contact, even in Syria. It is therefore possible to think that such proximity of both should be sought in some deep-rooted religious sentiment which, despite a long independent development, could not find forms for its expression substantially different from each other.

The Druzes still number in Syria and Lebanon some 150 thousands, and, in theory, keep their religious literature in strict secrecy. Nevertheless, Druze manuscripts were the first sectarian books which found their way into many European libraries, and already in 1838 the famous French Orientalist, baron Silvestre de Sacy, published his bulky monograph on the Druze doctrine, summing up in it the contents of their literature, some 120 separate items, none voluminous, many a few pages long. His work, "Exposé de la Religion des Druzes", is wellknown, but an extremely "hard nut to crack", quite unreadable, lacking any index, systematic arrangement, etc. It is really amusing to see that the scholar in France, one of the most advanced European countries of the XIX c., has adopted in his book exactly the same method as did Yamanite theologian, Ḥâtim b. Ibrâhîm al-Ḥâmidî (d. 596/1199), in his summary of the *Majâlis* of Sayyidnâ al-Mu'ayyad, the *Jâmi' al-Ḥaqâ'iq*. In his book Ḥâtim b. Ibrâhîm copied passages from the *Majâlis* dealing with certain theological subjects, just as six hundred years later the learned Frenchman picked up quotations from Druze works, giving them, in a French translation, under different heads. This fact is indicative of both the advancement of Ismailism during the Fatimid

period, and the stagnation of culture in mediaeval Europe. A great defect of his work, for which Monsieur le baron certainly cannot be blamed, is that he approached the sectarian Druze doctrine without first making acquaintance with the base of it, the Ismaili Fatimid literature, which at his time remained inaccessible. When one, having acquired some familiarity with the Fatimid literature, reads the Druze books in the original, and not in de Sacy's translation, the Druzes appear in quite a different light, with their heresy.

There are works in the Druze literature which may be worthy of serious study, - although quite a large proportion of it is worthless, - and it is for this reason that their list, as is given by de Sacy, is reprinted here, with short notes, for the convenience of students.

It may be noted that some short opuscules from the Druze literature have been edited, chiefly by S. de Sacy himself, in his very valuable "Chrestomathie Arabe" (in 2 vols.) which, unfortunately, is now entirely inaccessible, except in the principal Oriental libraries of Europe. A few original editions were also published by him in various learned periodicals of his time, also now as good as inaccessible.

The works of the Druze literature are usually copied in the same traditional sequence and it is said that the collection forms twelve vols. But probably the last volumes, after the nineth or even eighth, are not always found in private collections. Besides, there are works which apparently are not regarded as "canonical", although probably genuine.

Vol. I.

1. (**547**) *as-Sijill al-ladhî wujid mu'allaqan 'alâ'l-mashâhid (masâjid?) fî ghaybat Mawlâ-nâ al-Imâm al-Ḥâkim.* A notice found affixed in mosques on the disappearence of Imam al-Ḥâkim. Dated the month of Dhû'l-Qa'da 411/Febr.– March 1021. Ed. in Chrest., II, 191.

2. (**548**) *as-Sijill al-munahhâ fî-hi al-khamr.* Epistle prohibiting drinking wine. Dated the month of Dhû'l-Qa'da 400/June-July 1010. Ed. in Chrestomathie, II, 202.

3. (**549**) *Khabar al-Yahûd wa'n-Naṣârâ.* Proclamation in connection with Christians and Jews.

4. (**550**) *Nuskhat mâ kataba-hu al-Qarmaṭî ilâ Mawlâ-nâ al-Ḥâkim bi-amr Allâh . . . 'ind wuṣûli-hi ilâ Miṣr.* Epistle of the Qarmatian leader to al-Ḥâkim, and a reply to it. Was edited in the Chrestomathie, II, 205, and translated in the introd., p. 224.

5. (**551**) *Mîthâq Waliyyi'z-zamân,* the Druze version of the Fatimid *'Ahd al-awliyâ'*, oath of allegiance and secrecy. Ed. in Chrest. II, 206.

6. (**552**) *an-Naqḍ al-Khafî,* on al-Ḥâkim's alleged abrogation of the Fatimid Ismaili law, in letter and spirit. Dated Ṣafar 408/July 1017.

7. (**553**) *Buduww at-tawḥîd li-da'wat al-ḥaqq,* on the "manifestation of monotheism for the preaching of the Truth". Dated Ramaḍân 408/Jan. 1018.

8. (**554**) *Mîthâq an-nisâ'*, women's version of the same as no. 551.

9. (**555**) *al-Balâgh wa'n-Nihâyat fî't-Tawḥîd ilâ kâfat al-muwaḥḥidîn al-mutabarri'în min at-talḥîd,* admonitions in the doctrine of monotheism addressed to those believers who freed themselves from heretical beliefs. Dated Muḥarram 409/May 1018.

10. (**556**) *al-Ghâyat wa'n-naṣîḥat,* dated Rab. II 409/Aug. 1018.

11. (**557**) *Ḥaqâ'iq mâ yaẓhar qaddâm Mawlâ-nâ jall dhikru-hu min al-hazl,* explanation of the real meaning of strange actions witnessed in the presence of al-Ḥâkim. Not dated.

12. (**558**) *as-Sîrat al-mustaqîma,* biography of al-Ḥâkim as a proof of his divinity. Dated Jum. I 409/Oct. 1018.

13. (**559**) *Kashf al-ḥaqâ'iq,* a treatise by Ḥamza himself on the hierarchy of what in the Fatimid literature was called *ḥudûd ad-dîn.* Composed in Ram. 409/Jan. 1019.

14. (**560**) *Sabab al-asbâb wa kanz li-man ayqan wa istajâb.* Ḥamza's own explanations given to a follower who did not properly understand him, on the subjects approximately similar to those in the preceding work.

Vol. II.

1/15 (**561**) *ar-R. ad-Dâmigha li'l-fâsiq. Ar-radd 'alâ'l-Nuṣayrî la'ana-hu al-Mawlâ fî kull dawr wa kawr.* Refutation of Nusayrism.

2/16 (**562**) *R. ar-Riḍâ wa't-taslîm.* In this *risâla* Ḥamza (?) mentions Nashtegîn Darazî and his revolt against Ḥamza, and also a certain al-Bardha'î, an associate of Darazî. Dated Rab. II 409/Aug. 1019.

3/17 (**563**) *R. at-Tanzîh,* on inapplicability of human-like attributes to the Deity, and thus to al-Ḥâkim. Amongst other matters the author again returns to the question of the *ḥudûd,* and develops a theory similar to the beliefs of the present Ahl-i Ḥaqq about the re-incarnation (spiritual or symbolical?) of certain saints, such as 'Abd ar-Raḥîm b. Ilyâs (- *Nâṭiq*), 'Abbâs b. Shu'ayb (- *Asâs*, 'Alî b. 'Abd Manâf), *dâ'î* Khattegin (*lâḥiq*, i.e. *ḥujjat, wa huwa mukannâ bi-Abî Bakr*), and so forth, ending with the chief *qâḍî* Aḥmad ibn al-'Awwâm *"wa huwa 'Uthmân b. 'Iffân"*, - five *ḥadds* of *sharî'at.* The work was completed in Jum. II 409/Oct. 1018.

4/18 (**564**) *R. an-Nisâ' al-kabîra,* the bigger treatise concerning women (apparently the "smaller" should be no. 554). It is in the nature of *naṣîḥat,* referring to the elementary principles of religion.

5/19 (**565**) *aṣ-Ṣubḥat al-kâ'ina* ("the Dawn to come"), an epistle from Ḥamza (b. 'Alî b. Aḥmad *"Hâdî al-mustajîbîn wa Imâm al-muwaḥḥidîn"*, as he usually calls himself) in reply to a letter from the *dâ'î* Abû'l-Qâsim Mubârak b. 'Alî, in condemnation of the followers of Nashtegîn (ad-Darazî). It exposes the hereticism of the accused for their wrong ideas about the divinity of al-Ḥâkim and threatens them with revenge. (The note devoted to this item by de Sacy appears to be strange).

6/20 (**566**) *Sijill al-Mujtabâ.* An epistle of al-Mujtabâ, the chief associate of Ḥamza, addressed to the *dâ'î* Abû Ibrâhîm Ismâ'îl Tamîmî.

7/21 (**567**) *Taqlîd ar-Riḍâ safîr al-Qudrat.* Appointment of the *dâ'î* Abû 'Abd Allâh Qurayshî, issued by ar-Riḍâ, a second associate of Ḥamza. Dated Shawwâl 409/Febr. 1019.

8/22 (**568**) *Taqlîd al-Muqtanâ.* Appointment of al-Muqtanâ, issued by Muṣṭafâ, the third dignitary, to whom he was subordinated. His real name was the *dâ'î* Bahâ' ad-dîn Abû'l-Ḥasan 'Alî Simûkî. Dated 13 Sha'bân 410/14-12-1019.

9/23 (**569**) *Mukâtabat ilâ ahl al-Kudyat al-Bayḍâ'*, an epistle to the inhabitants of a village al-Kudyat al-Bayḍâ. (It occupies only one page).

19/24 (**570**) *Risâlat al-Inṣinâ'*, a short epistle of Ḥamza to the people of Inṣinâ', dated 10 Jum. II, 410/13-10-1019.

11/25 (**571**) *Sharṭ al-Imâm Ṣâḥib al-Kashf.* Marriage as it shall be in the period of the full manifestation in glory of the Imam of the time. Ed. in Chrest. II, 107.

12/26 (**572**) *ar-Risâlat al-latî ursilat ilâ Waliyyi'l-'ahd 'ahd al-muslimîn 'Abd ar-Raḥîm b. Ilyâs*, al-Ḥâkim's nephew and heir designate. Ed. in Chrest., II, 209.

13/27 (**573**) *Risâlat Khumâr b. Jaysh as-Sulaymânî al-'Akkâwî.* A letter addressed to Khumâr b. Jaysh, al-Ḥâkim's cousin, who pretended to have been adopted by al-'Azîz, and called himself al-Ḥâkim's brother. Ed. in Chrest., II, 211.

14/28 (**574**) *ar-R. al-Munfidha ilâ'l-Qâḍî*, prescribing the dress in which the judge should be clad while delivering his judgment. Dated Rab. I, 409/July 1018. Ed. Chrest. II, 213.

15/29 (**575**) *Munâjât Waliyyi'l-Ḥaqq.* Prayers to al-Ḥâkim.

16/30 (**576**) *ad-Du'â' al-mustajâb*, prayer which will be accepted (by the Deity).

17/31 (**577**) *at-Taqdîs. Du'â' as-Sâdiqîn (aṣ-Ṣâdiqîn?). Du'â' li-najât al-muwaḥḥidîn al-'ârifîn.* Prayers.

18/32 (**578**) *Ma'rifat al-Imâm wa asmâ' al-ḥudûd al-'ulwiyya rûḥâniyyan wa jismâniyyan.* It gives the real names of the members of the higher hierarchy of the dignitaries.

19/33 (**579**) *R. at-Taḥdhîr wa't-tanbîh*, by Ḥamza.

20/34 (**580**) *al-I'dhâr wa'l-indhâr ash-shâfiya li-qulûb ahl al-ḥaqq min al-maraḍ wa'l-ikhtiyâr.* As de Sacy states, in a gloss, it is said that these warnings were directed against the propaganda of a certain rival of Ḥamza, "Ibn al-Barbariyya".

21/35 (**581**) *R. al-Ghayba*, about the disappearance of al-Ḥâkim, to Syrian followers.

22/36 (**582**) *Taqsîm al-'ulûm wa Ithbât al-ḥaqq wa kashf al-maktûb*, by Ismâ'îl b. Muḥammad b. Ḥâmid at-Tamîmî, who received his information from Ḥamza, here called *Qâ'im az-zamân.* Dated Muḥarram 410/May 1019.

23/37 (**583**) *R. az-Zinâd*, the mystic flint which emits sparks of mystic knowledge. It contains many *ta'wîls* of various verses of the Coran.

24/38 (**584**) *R. ash-Sham'a*, by the same Ismâ'îl at-Tamîmî *ad-dâ'î*, composed still under al-Ḥâkim himself. It is the symbolism of a candle as a combination of different parts, each part corresponding to a degree of the dignitaries in the hierarchy.

25/39 (**585**) *ar-Rushd wa'l-hidâyat*, by al-Mujtabâ, as is usual for him, filled with empty verbiage.

26/40 (**586**) *Shi'r an-Nafs*, in verse, addressed to inhabitants of the Summâq hills, by the same Mujtabâ.

Volume III.

1/41 (**587**) *al-Juz' al-Awwal min as-sab'at ajzâ'.* Explanation of the first of the seven basic commandments of the Druze religion.

2/42 (**588**) *at-Tanbîh wa't-Ta'nîb wa't-Tawbîkh wa't-Tawqîf*, addressed to two *dâ'îs*, whose faith was suspected. Dated 422/1031.

3/43 (**589**) *Mathalan ḍaraba-hu ba'ḍ ḥukamâ' ad-diyânat tawbîkhan li-man qaṣṣar ḥifẓ al-amânat.*

4/44 (**590**) *R. Banî Abî Ḥimâr*, against those who believe that the divinity of al-Ḥâkim could pass to his son and successor.

5/45 (**591**) *Taqlîd lâḥiq; at-Taqlîd al-awwal ilâ ash-Shaykh al-Mukhtâr.* Appointment of a *lâḥiq* (the term sometimes is used in the sense of the *ḥujjat*, and sometimes of a *bâb*). The first appointment to the "chosen sheikh". Dated Muḥarram 418/Febr. 1027.

6/46 (**592**) *Taqlîd Sikkin* (as de Sacy reads the name; in the MS 5268 of the Bodleian Library the name is clearly vocalised as "Sukayn"). The author, Bahâ' ad-dîn al-Muqtanâ, with his usual verbosity and pompous meaninglessness, appoints Sukayn, in Syria, as a dignitary in the Druze community. Dated Jum. II 418/July 1027.

7/47 (**593**) *Taqlîd ash-Shaykh Abî al-Katâ'ib.* His appointment as a dignitary in Bayḍâ' and all villages of Ṣa'îd.

8/48 (**594**) *Taqlîd Abî'l-Fawâris Mi'ḍâd ibn Yûsuf,* in Fillijîn. Another appointment of a dignitary, subordinated to Sukayn, mentioned above.

9/49 (**595**) *Taqlîd Banî Jarrâḥ.* Appointment, by al-Muqtanâ, of two descendants of Jarrâḥ, Jâbir and Zammâkh, sons of Mufarrij.

10/50 (**596**) *ar-R. al-Jumayhiriyya.* Al-Muqtanâ's epistle to several *dâ'îs* of Banû Tanûkh. Dated Jum. II 428/July 1027.

11/51 (**597**) *at-Ta'nîf wa't-tahjîn bi-jamâ'at* (or *li-jamâ'at*) *man bi-sunhûr min Kutâmâ al-'ajiyyisiyyîn,* from the same verbose al-Muqtanâ, with reprimands. The same date.

12/52 (**598**) *R. al-Wâdî.* al-Muqtanâ's epistle to the *dâ'îs* of the locality known simply as al-Wâdî, which means a watercourse. Dated the same Jum. II 418/July 1027.

13/53 (**599**) *ar-R. al-Qusṭanṭîniyya,* sent to (emperor) Constantin (VIII, of Byzantium), the ruler of the Christians. Dated the 22 Ṣafar 419/22 March 1028.

14/54 (**600**) *ar-R. al-Masîḥiyya.* Another lengthy production, apparently by al-Muqtanâ, on controversial subjects, in which Ḥamza is called the Messiah. No date.

15/55 (**601**) *at-Ta'aqqub wa'l-ifliqâd li-adâ' mâ baqâ 'alay-nâ min ḥadm sharî'at an-Naṣârâ al-fasaqat al-aḍdâd.* Another controversial, very verbose, production of Muqtanâ on anti-Christian polemics. It is addressed to the Byzantine emperor Michail the Paphlagonian, the husband of the empress Zoe, daughter of Constantin VIII, to whom no. 599 is addressed. The author refers in the text to *ar-R. an-Nûrâniyya,* which is unknown among the Druze books and perhaps may be an Ismaili work.

16/56 (**602**) *al-Îqâẓ wa'l-bishârat li-ahl al-ghaflat wa âl al-ḥaqq wa't-ṭahârat,* addressed to the people of both Iraqs, announcing the early re-appearance of Ḥamza. Dated the 10th of Dhû'l-Qa'da 423/23-11-1032. The name of the author is not mentioned.

17/57 (**603**) *al-Ḥaqâ'iq wa'l-indhâr wa't-ta'dîb li-jam' al-khalâ'iq,* an epistle of Muqtanâ to the people of Liban, Antiochia, some portions of Syria and 'Irâq, with complaints on the deterioration of religion in those places. Dated Jum. II 425/May 1034.

18/58 (**604**) *ar-R. ash-Shâfiya li-nufûs al-muwaḥḥidîn al-mumriḍa li-qulûb al-muqṣirîn al-jâḥidîn.* It seems to be not by Muqtanâ, because markedly differs from his style. Nothing is said by de Sacy (p. 491), although Muqtanâ's name appears in the colophon.

19/59 (**605**) *Risâlat al-'Arab.* An epistle to the Arabs in general and more especially to Jâbir and Zammâkh mentioned in the epistle no. 595. Dated 10 Rajab 422/3-7-1031.

20/60 (**606**) *Risâlat al-Yaman wa hidâyat an-nufûs aṭ-ṭâhirât wa lam ash-shaml wa jam' ash-shitât,* dated Shawwâl 415/Dec. 1024.

21/61 (**607**) *Risâlat al-Hind,* or *at-Tadhkâr wa'l-kamâl ilâ ash-shaykh ar-rashîd al-musaddid al-mifḍâl.* An epistle addressed to the Druze community in India, especially Multan, and the prince Raja-Bal (i. e. Rajpal). Mas'ûd the Ghaznawid is apparently referred to. Dated 425/1034.

22/62 (**608**) *at-Taqrî' wa'l-bayân wa iqâmat al-ḥujjat li-waliyyi'z-zamân,* addressed to the faithful in Cairo and Fostat.

23/63 (**609**) *Ta'dîb al-walad al-'âqq min al-awlâd al-ghâfil,* etc. Moralising admonitions, with *ayyu-hâ al-walad,* perhaps really addressed to the son of the author, whose name and the date of compositlon are not mentioned.

24/64 (**610**) *al-Qâṣi'a li'l-Fir'awn*, etc., refutation of an impostor Ibn al-Kurdî by name. Comp. in Rajab 426/May 1035.

25/65 (**611**) *Kitâb "Abû'l-yaqẓân" wa mâ tawfîqî illâ bi-ṭâ'at ḥudûd Waliyyi'z-zamân*, by al-Muqtanâ, to a certain sheikh whose name is not mentioned. No date.

26/66 (**612**) *Tam'îz al-muwaḥḥidîn aṭ-ṭâhirîn min ḥizb al-'uṣât al-fasaqa an-nâkithîn*, by Muqtanâ.

26/67 (**613**) *Min dûn Qâ'im az-zamân wa'l-hâdî ilâ ṭâ'at ar-Raḥmân. "Qâ'im az-zamân"* in the Druze liierature is the term for Ḥamza, but, as de Sacy states, the style of the work is quite different from that of either Ḥamza or Muqtanâ. No date. Poetry quoted.

28/68 (**614**) *R. as-Safar ilâ's sâdat fî'd-da'wat li-ṭâ'at Waliyyi'l-Ḥaqq al-Imâm al-Qâ'im al-muntaẓar*, by Muqtanâ, dated Ṣafar 430/Nov. 1038, and addressed to sheikhs of Laḥsa. In de Sacy's book there are two opuscules mentioned between the above and those of the next volume:

29/69 (**615**) *al-Asrâr wa majâlis ar-raḥma li'l-awliyâ' wa'l-abrâr*, dated Muḥarram 417/Febr. 1026. The style is quite different from that of Muqtanâ, and de Sacy suggests that it is by one of the "impostors" who perverted the doctrine.

30/70 (**616**) *Majâlis ar-raḥma*, only a few lines preserved.

Vol. IV (?)

1/71 (**617**) *Mi'râj najât al-muwaḥḥidîn wa sullam ḥayât al-mûqinîn*. No date. Just the usual manipulations of words, perhaps by the same Muqtanâ.

2/72 (**618**) *Dhikr al-Ma'âd wa'r-radd 'alâ man 'abbar bi'l-ghalaṭ wa'l-ilḥâd*. No date. The author refers to the 19th and 27th of *the second hundred of the Majlises* of a certain 'Abd al-'Azîz.

3/73 (**619**) *at-Tabyîn wa'l-Istidrâk li-ba'ḍ mâ lam tudrik-hu al-'uqûl fî kashf al-kufr al-maḥjûb min al-ilḥâd wa'l-ishrâk*. It is by Muqtanâ who refers to his own work (no. 601).

4/74 (**620**) *ar-R. al-Isrâ'iliyya ad-dâmigha li-ahl al-ladûd wa'l-juḥûd a'nî al-kafarat min ahl sharî'at al-Yahûd*. By Muqtanâ, who refers to his own works, the opuscules referred to in the preceding note.

5/75 (**621**) *Aḥad wa sab'în su'âl*, etc. The work contains references to the *Sijill mukarram* (that is, issued by the Imam) to a certain Ṣâliḥ b. 'Alî Rûdbârî, *dâ'î* in the *jazîra* of Ray.

6/75 (**622**) *Îḍâḥ at-tawḥîd li-man tanabbah min sunnat al-ghaflat wa 'araf al-ḥaqq*, by Muqtanâ, dated Dhû'l-Qa'da 430/Aug. 1039. References to the *Majlises* of al-Mu'izz, al-'Azîz, and 'Abd al-'Azîz (cf. above, no. 618).

7/77 (**623**) *ar-Radd 'alâ ahl at-Ta'wîl al-ladhîn yûjibû takrâr al-ilâh fî'l-aqmiṣat al-mukhtalifa*. A very interesting discussion of the doctrine of the re-incarnation of the deity, similar to the *dûn*, *libâs* of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq. Unfortunately, incomplete in the MS Arab. e. 90 of the Bodleian Library. The volume ends with blank pages after which is added *Du'â yutlâ ba'd majlis adh-dhikr min ta'-lîf ash-shaykh al-fâḍil*. No name.

From here only de Sacy's work is followed.

8/78 (**624**) *Tawbîkh Ibn al-Barbariyya* (also called *ar-R. ad-dâmigha li'l-fâsiq*, etc. The same person is attacked in no. 580, which is by Ḥamza. Apparently by Muqtanâ, referring to the events of 428/1037 and later. Ḥamza's work *R. al-i'dhâr wa'l-indhâr* (no. 580) is referred to.

9/79 (**625**) *Tawbîkh lâḥiq*. Reprimand to a *lâḥiq*, i.e. either *ḥujjat* or *bâb*, not a personal name as apparently regarded by de Sacy. A work by Ḥamza is referred to (not in this collection): *R. al-ghayyâr ad-dâmigha li-ahl al-kidhb wa'l-'iṣyân wa'l-iṣrâr*.

10/80 (**626**) *Tawbîkh al-khâ'ib al-'âjiz Sukayn* (or *Sikkîn*), the same as mentioned in the work (no. 592), an associate of the impostor Ibn al-Kurdî. The work is most probably by the same Muqtanâ.

11/81 (**627**) *Tawbîkh Ibn Abî Ḥaṣiyya*, by Muqtanâ who refers to *ar-R. al-Qâṣi'a li'l-Fir'awn* (no. 610) and *R. Abî'l-Yaqẓân* (no. 611).

12/82 (**628**) *Tawbîkh Sahl*, partly in prose and partly in verse, chastising for some misdeeds.

13/83 (**629**) *Tawbîkh Ḥasan b. Mu'allâ*, chastisement of Ibn Mu'allâ for the participation in the murder of Ibn 'Ammâr, killed by Ibn al-Kurdî.

14/84 (**630**) *Tawbîkh al-khâ'ib Muḥallâ*, by Muqtanâ, warning him about his misdeeds.

15/85 (**631**) *R. al-Banât al-Kabîra.*

16/86 (**632**) *R. al-Banât aṣ-Ṣaghîra.* (This and the preceding edited in Chrest. II).

17/87 (**633**) *al-Maqâla fî'r-radd 'alâ'l-munajjimîn.*

18/88 (**634**) *Budw al-khalq*, Muqtanâ's answer to a letter.

19/89 (**635**) *al-Maw'iẓa*, dated the 5 Jum. I. 428/24-2-1037, by Muqtanâ.

20/90 (**636**) *al-Muwâjiha.* Credentials to several messengers despatched by Muqtanâ to Ḥamza in his retreat.

21/91 (**637**) *Mukâtabat ash-Shaykh Abû'l-Katâ'ib*, letter addressed to the same person, Abû'l-Katâ'ib as mentioned in his appointment to Bayḍâ' and Ṣa'îd in no. 593.

22/92 (**638**) *Manshûr ilâ âl-'Abd Allâh.* Dated 14 Dhî Qa'da, not mentioning the year.

23/93 (**639**) *Jawâb Kitâb as-sâdat*, declaring that the time of the reappearance of the *Qâ'im az-zamân*, that is, Ḥamza in his retreat, is approaching.

24/94 (**640**) *al-Kitâb al-munfadh 'alâ yad sarâya*, a busines note, by an anonymous author.

25/95 (**641**) *Mukâtabat tadhkirat*, another note of a similar kind.

26/96 (**642**) *Mukâtabat Naṣr b. Futûḥ*, another one.

27/97 (**643**) *as-Sijill al-wârid ilâ Naṣr*, refering to complaints against Ibn Mu'allâ (cf. no. 629).

28/98 (**644**) *Manshûr ash-shaykh Abû'l-ma'ânî aṭ-Ṭâhir*, on some administrative matters.

29/99 (**645**) *Manshûr ilâ jamâ'at Abî Turâb*, by Muqtanâ. No date.

30/100 (**646**) *Risâlat Jabal as-Summâq*, by Muqtanâ, dated 428/1037.

31/101 (**647**) *Manshûr ilâ âl 'Abd Allâh wa âl Sulaymân*, by Muqtanâ, dated Rab. II 428/Jan. 1037. The subject is a demand for money which Sukayn (or Sikkîn, mentioned above), tried to misappropriate from the village al-Bustân.

32/102 (**648**) *Manshûr Abâ 'Alî*, by Muqtanâ, also on financial matters.

33/103 (**649**) *Manshûr ramz li-Abî'l-Khayr Salâma*, on commercial matters.

34/104 (**670**) *Manshûr ash-sharṭ wa'l-baṭṭ*, from Muqtanâ to his community, recalling orders of Ḥamza.

35/105 (**671**) *Mukâtabat ilâ ash-shuyûkh al-awwâbîn*, from Muqtanâ, on the subject of renegades from the community.

36/106 (**672**) *Manshûr fî dhikr iqâlat Sa'd*, by Muqtanâ, similar to the preceding one, especially on a certain Sa'd, and sheykhs of the village al-Bustân.

37/107 (**673**) *Mukâtabat ramz ilâ ash-shaykh Abû'l-Ma'âlî*, by Muqtanâ (?), an allegory concerning some malpractices in the community.

38/108 (**674**) *Manshûr ilâ maḥall al-azhar ash-sharîf*, on apostasy of certain members of the community.

39/109 (**675**) *Manshûr Naṣr b. Futûḥ*, an allegory, on some money business. Cf. nos. 642, 643.

40/110 (**626**) *Mukâtaba ramz ilâ âl Abî Turâb*, another allegorical letter. Warning against Ibn al-Kurdî who is in Egypt.

41/111 (**677**) *ar-R. al-wâṣila ilâ'l-Jabal al-Anwar* (Liban mountains), by Muqtanâ, dated Ram. 433/May 1042, against those who pervert religion.

42/112 (**678**) *Mukâtabat ash-shaykh Abî'l-Ma'âlî*, Muqtanâ's letter to Abû'l-Ma'âlî, dated the same year, 433/1042.

43/113 (**679**) *Mansûbat bi'l-Ghaybat*, Muqtanâ's farewell letter, in which he emphatically asserts his having nothing to do with the perversions of the religion preached by the *"lâḥiq"*, Sukayn (Sikkîn), Muṣ'ab (?), and the like. Apparently to be dated 433/1042.

It is difficult to say whether this series exhausts the whole of the religious literature of the Druzes. The unfortunate game of keeping it secret by the devotees may, or may not conceal the possibility that there are some more works which have not yet come into the hands of outsiders.

(**680**) *Shârḥ Mîthâq Waliyyi'z-Zamân.*

Although Druze manuscripts are found in many European and some Syrian and Egyptian libraries, they remain un-catalogued, and it is difficult to find out whether there are many works which should be added to the collection of de Sacy. One of such works is found in the British Museum library under the designation Or. 6852. Unfortunately, the copy is defective both at the beginning and the end. At the beginning apparently several pages are missing, which probably contained the name of the author and the original title. At the end there is no colophon.

The work is a detailed commentary on the *Mîthâq Waliyyi'z-zamân*, no. 5 in de Sacy's list (no. 551). Fortunately, the commentary itself is complete, beginning with the first word of the *Mîthâq*, and ending with the last. As is known, Ismaili literature and the Druze works known so far have no commentaries, of the usual orthodox type. But here we have an exceptionally detailed one. The portion which is preserved is 307 fairly large pages, as against barely some 150 *words* of the original text. It is difficult to offer any suggestion as to the date of composition, but the impression which it produces is that it might belong to the period at which the whole Druze literature has sprung, namely the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. There is plenty of interesting information, not only about matters of dogma, but also of the events in the early history of the sect. Many pages are often devoted to the explanation of a single word in the original text; many names and titles of books,- some perhaps Ismaili, are

referred to. The style is not so florid as that of Muqtanâ's works, but the language apparently does not, on the whole differ from that of other Druze books.

(**680-A**) *Qiṣṣat Miqdâd (?)* A lengthy mathnawî poem dealing with the legend of Miqdâd, the early Shi'ite saint, and his fight against the enemies of 'Alî b. Abî Ṭâlib in the battle of Ṣiffîn (37/657). I bought this manuscript in Damascus, and have shown it to some Druzes, who assured that the book comes from the Druze community. I myself, looking through it, could not find anything that would clearly show traces of Druzism. Perhaps when more may become known about the Druze non-canonical literature, it will be possible to decide the matter finally. The copy is incomplete at the beginning.

PART II

NIZARI ISMAILI LITERATURE

To the short note given in the Introduction (pp. 9-10 above) it is necessary to add that in common parlance, especially in Ismaili circles, this expression long since has received the meaning of *Ismaili works in Persian* in general, including those written *before* the Nizari-Musta'lian split as well as long after it when the genuine Nizari spirit had almost entirely evaporated from it. Perhaps the best name to specify the real Nizari trend in Ismaili literature would be the "Alamut School".

This school, as has been said in the Introduction, came into being after the period of dead silence which lasted almost seventy years after the split, and was introduced by a dramatic event, the proclamation of the "Great *Qiyâmat*", the long awaited "Resurrection", in 559/1164. Catastrophic events of Persian history of that time have nipped it in the bud, and apparently only meager remnants, better to say traces, were all that was preserved till our times.

It is difficult to believe that in the intervening period of "silence" no works were composed during the long years of probable untold despair and anxiety of the Ismaili community in Persia. But if they were written down, events have swept them clean from the memory of mankind. This, however, does not mean that the new-born Nizari literature appeared to be inscribed on a clean slate. Although it is practically impossible to confirm, with reliable dates and names of authors, the existence of the pre-Alamut *popular* Ismaili literature, it is beyond doubt that such literature existed, and even was preserved through centuries in variedly modified versions, having been "processed" by the changing generations who re-copied these, not, of course, without adjusting them to the changing conditions and outlook. As it is well-known, during the domination of Arabic as the language of literature, even Arabic grammar was

studied by Persians from manuals in Arabic, which were simply memorised. Such conservative methods of instruction could even be a few decades ago observed in various backwater corners of the Islamic world, as, for instance, in Bukhara. It is therefore quite legitimate to think that early Ismailis in Persia were memorising some of the popular Arabic manuals on their religion which are still included amongst the books of the Fatimid literature.

Quite possibly, although also difficult to prove owing to the loss of the literature, Arabic gradually disappeared from school books during the period of the Iranian nationalistic wave of the XI-XII cc. There is no answer to the question whether this change had any relation to the rise of the Nizari doctrine.

The books, or mostly booklets, of this kind, are still fairly numerous. They are at once recognizable by the antiquated and simply obsolete terminology, long since abandoned in the Fatimid and post-Fatimid literature: terms as *Nâṭiq*, *Asâs*, the emphasis on the prescriptions of *sharî'at*, and its *ta'wîl*. Amongst these incidentally are found works clearly reflecting primitive conditions of economy of probably great antiquity, as in a work described further on under no. 698. We may have full right to apply to this literature the name of the "conservative current". It is a great pity that no work that is known to me contains an indication of the date of composition. The earliest which does comes on the eve of the Safawid reform. It is, in fact, the *Sî-u shish Ṣaḥîfa*, composed by a certain Sayyid Suhrâb Walî of Badakhshan, in 856/1452.

We must also include in this class the works of Nâṣir-i Khusraw, although in none of them is the name of Nizâr mentioned, and apparently all of them had been composed *before* the split. Of course, as a devout Ismaili, Nâṣir-i Khusraw would have been hardly expected to side with Musta'lî an his successors, yet this is merely a probability, with no "written testimony".

The old "conservative" current continued to exist along with the "Alamut school", and even withstood the pressure of the "fashion" which came as a powerful factor in spiritual life in the form of the Safawid Shi'itisation of Persia.

The literature of Sufism, especially Sufic poetry, is enormous, and even the literature *about* Sufism, in various Western and Oriental languages, is copious; but it would be no exaggeration to say that at least 95 p. c. of it consists of rubbish and banalities. Real "jewels", genuine and important, are as rare as in many other fields of human activities. As the question of the relation between Ismailism and Sufism is a subject which almost never has been touched in the study of Ismaili history, I believe it would be useful to mention here certain facts.

It is often ignored that Sufism was a typical and perhaps exclusive development of early *Sunnism*. For an early Sufi ascetic an Ismaili was, before everything, a *râfiḍî*, schismatic enemy of the orthodoxy, while an Ismaili looked upon a Sufi with contempt, regarding him also as a heretic, one of the *ghulât al-Ḥashwiyya*, over-enthusiasts who emphasize the form of religion at the expense of its spirit, as an enemy of the Holy Family, one who dares to place the deified 'Alî b. Abî Ṭâlib on the same level with the first three caliphs. There was abysmal difference in the outlook of the Sufi, a product of the decomposition and degeneration of Eastern-Mediterranean ancient cultures, senile and determinately parasitic, on the one side, and Ismailism, one of the most virile, sober-minded and intellectually active developments in Islam, before it succumbed to mystical influences later on. The judges who in 309/922 tried Manṣûr-i Ḥallâj, an eminent Sufi, and established the fact of his contact with the Qarmaṭians (as the Ismailis were abusively called at the time), sentenced him to cruel death. It is difficult to see whether it was religious or political motives which predominated in their judgment, owing to the "tension" stirred by the Abbaside fears. We may, however, perhaps legitimately think that great fuss was made in the case of Ḥallâj chiefly owing to the outstanding figure of the accused, and that contact on the level of "small fry", between Sufis and Ismailis, was nothing extraordinary.

It is quite natural that Sufic writers and hagiologists definitely avoided mention of such matters, while the Ismailis simply did not care for sueh contacts. Before long, however, political events of that time altered things completely, eliminating

both the Ismailis and Abbasids as political forces. Thus both currents could meet each other on the spiritual ground, only.

Already early after the Mongol catastrophe, in 710/1310, an interesting "document" made its appearance, a versified treatise in Persian, *Gulshan-i Râz* ("Flower garden of Mysteries") composed by an obscure Sufic author, Maḥmûd-i Shabistarî, of whose biography and whereabouts we know nothing. Ever since it has been regarded as a kind of "authority" in the matters of Sufism and evoked many imitations. Yet it is not necessary to be particularly perspicatious, in the case of a certain familiarity with Ismailism, to see how much the Sufic theosophy of the *Gulshan-i Râz* owes to Ismaili theories.

It is difficult to doubt that in the *Gulshan-i Râz* we have an approach from the *Sufic* side, by someone who was much impressed by Ismaili literature. The treatise, or poem, closely resembles the numerous *urjûzas* of the Ismailis, and even shows traces of the Neo-Yamanite predilection for the question and answer form (*mas'ala wa jawâb*). It is not difficult to follow the alterations and modifications introduced in the process of adjustment. First of all the Shi'ite outlook had to go; the Imam disappeared to reappear later in *Taṣawwuf* in the person of the mystical *Quṭb*, around whom the Universe rotates. The skeleton of the Sufic theosophy, the popular *ḥikmat*, of which there is no sign in early Sufism, has been taken over whole. Even traces of the idea of the *ḥudûd* (remarkably enough, with the retention of the Early-Yamanite terminology, of *naqîbs*, *najîbs*, etc.) have been preserved. Here is certainly no place for a detailed analysis of the matter, but it may prove a deserving subject for a special study.

An important fact, never noted so far, is that the obscure Maḥmûd-i Shabistarî had an *Ismaili* contemporary, who was working, probably quite independently, exactly in the same spirit, though in a very different way. It was Nizârî Quhistânî, a native of Khûsp, near Birjand, a devout Ismaili, who died about 720/1320. He was a poet of high rank (cf. nos. 691–697). Perhaps it was he to whom the idea of camouflaging Ismaili ideas in Sufic expressions of a symbolic nature occured for the first time. It is realy amusing to see that his writings were so often

studied as works of standard Sufism, while no one tried to unveil his real face as that of an Ismaili.

Studying Persian literature it is easy to see how Shi'ite elements began to spread in it: Ni'matu'l-lâh Walî, Qâsim-i Anwâr, and others. The ground was prepared for the sweeping Shi'ite sentiment in poetry and prose with the advent of the Safawid period. The intensity of the Shi'ite sentiment of Ismaili origin could very easily find a common language with the Ithna-'ashari variety of the same spirit, and this was accompanied by the tempting facility of discussing it in the open in the evasive form of "symbolism". Many who had the itch to pose as poets, discussing unspeakable mysteries, began to manufacture such supposed symbolical ghazals by the thousands. The old Nizari literature became entirely replaced by that produced under the influence of the new fashion, and owing to the reduced demand, was copied more and more seldom, ultimately turning into a real rarity, and being mostly preserved in such remote corners as Chitral, Baltit and valley of the Upper Oxus.

Nizari literature has not escaped the influences of modern times which appear as exotic "patches" in it. Such is the awakening interest in history as a counterpart to traditional legendary stories. In addition, it is possible to mention Indian elements penetrating with the printed literature imported from Bombay, in the form of Khoja illustrated periodicals in Gujrati.

1. The Alamut School

(**681**) *Fuṣûl-i Mubârak*. The meaning of the title and the nature of the *Fuṣûl* has been explained above. It may be added that the term was apparently never used before the proclamation of the *Qiyâmat*; the Fatimids used the term *sijill* (from Latin *sigillum*, lit. seal), in that sense. The modern equivalent is *farmân*. The term *Fuṣûl* was apparently used only during the Alamut period, and a certain time after it, was applied only to the epistles or orders emanating from the Imams, not from any other authority. It was also used in Singular, *faṣl*. It is really remarkable that the religious documents of such importance were apparently never collected in book-form, and were rarely re-copied. Already at the time of Naṣîru'd-dîn Ṭûsî (d. 672/1274), that is to say only a hundred years, or so, after the *Qiyâmat*, it was very difficult to find them. In his *Sayr wa Sulûk* (see no. 688) he tells how he incidentally came across several of them in the possession of an ignorant man. The latter, however, was not willing to part with them, so that Ṭûsî could get them only by playing a trick, *ḥîla*. Only after some 350 years after the *Qiyâmat* the idea of collecting and editing them came to Bû Isḥâq Quhistânî, the author of the *Haft-bâb* (cf. no. 702 and p. 42 of the edition of the text), but nothing is known of what had resulted from this good intention. In any case such an edition is never mentioned in the books written after his time. Quotations from the *Fuṣûl* which for the first time appear in the *Haft-bâb-i Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ* (no. 683), composed by an anonymous author in 596/1200, gradually become rarer and rarer, and ultimately cease to appear during the Safawid period. My persistent search for them during many years was fruitless. The only sample of this kind, *Alfâẓ-î guhar-bâr*, by his son and successor, is mentioned in the next note.

(**682**) *Mawlâ-nâ Nûru'd-dîn* (or *Ḍiyâ'u'd-dîn*) Muḥammad b. Ḥasan *'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm* (his own name is usually accompanied

by the invocation *"li-dhikri-hi's-sujûd wa't-tasbîḥ"*), who succeeded the preceding Imam (561–607/1166–1210). He, according to the *Jâmi' at-tawârîkh* (ed. Dabir-Siyaqi, Tehran, 1958, pp. 102 sqq). continued the activities of his father, and also issued some *fuṣûl*. They were apparently not so numerous or important, and in fact there is only one opuscule (known by the first words of it as *Alfâẓ-i guhar-bâr*), with the name of the author and his full title. Copies of this opuscule are very numerous, and usually swarming with errors. The author sometimes is called Muḥammad Zar-dûz, i.e. "embroyderer", the latter nickname being usually applied to Imam Shamsu'd-dîn b. Rukni'd-dîn, whose name was also Muḥammad, but who apparently had not left any literary works, and is in legends often confounded with Shams-i Tabrîz, Rûmî's associate.

An anonymous Persian author who wrote in 596/1200. It is possible to see from his words (p. 21) that he was personally present in Alamut at the celebration of the "Great *Qiyâmat*" in 559/1164. Unfortunately, he gives no material for details as to his biography.

(**683**) *Haft Bâb-i Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ*. "Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ" in the parlance of the Ismailis of Badakhshan (in a wider sense) means Sayyid-nâ Ḥasan b. aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ. The "Bâbâ" is a Turkish dervish term of respect applied as a honorific title, what in old Sufic literature was "sheikh", a senior spiritual leader. The presence of this term proves nothing beyond the book having passed through Central Asia, where ignorant copyists introduced it in the text. The book was written 80 years after the death of Sayyid-nâ (518/1124), and his name figures in the title perhaps because he is often mentioned in the text. It was edited by myself (Bombay, 1933) "Two Early Ismaili Treatises", no. 2, "Islamic Research Association series, pp. 43-55. New edition, based on better manuscripts, is contemplated. As has been mentioned above, it is the earliest accessible Ismaili work which contains quotations of the *Fuṣûl-i Mubârak*, and the story of the ceremony at the celebration of the Great *Qiyâmat* in Alamut.

Ra'ís Ḥasan, or, to give him his full name, Ḥasan b. Ṣalâḥ (ad-Dîn) Birjandî, the secretary (*munshî*) of the *muḥtashams* of Quhistân in the first half of the vii/xiii c. He was a poet of high class, and a historian. Unfortunately, very little remains of his works.

(**684**) (*Ta'rîkh-i Ismâ'îliyya*), a history of the Ismaili community, with special reference to the last period of the Alamut enclave. It is lost, but was used in the compilation of the *Jâmi'u't-tawârîkh* of Rashîdu'd-dîn, where his name is given in the form of "Ḥasan-i Ṣalâḥ Munshî". Cf. p. 88 of the edition of Dabir Siyaqi, Tehran, 1958, where his name erroneously appears in the form of Ḥasan Ṣabbâḥ Munshî. Also "*Majmû'a'i Rasâ'il . . . Naṣîru'd-dîn Ṭûsî*" (by Mudarris-i Riḍawî), p. 123.

(**685**) His poetry is preserved chiefly in the form of short quotations in some early Nizari works. Exceptions are some *qaṣîdas*, one of which, in praise of the *fidâwîs* who killed the Atabeg Qizil-Arslân (582-587/1186-1191), was edited and translated by W. Ivanow in 1938, Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R. A. S., pp. 53-72. It is intended to edit several other *qaṣîdas* and *qiṭ'as* in near future.

(**686**) *Qâsim Tushtarî* (or Shustarî), another poet *apparently* from the same period. Very short quotations of his poetry appear in early Nizari works. So far nothing could be found to supply more precision concerning his biography.

Naṣîr ad-Dîn Abû Ja'far Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan (or Ḥusayn) *Ṭûsî*, nicknamed *Khwâja*, born in 597/1201, d. in Baghdad the 18th Dhî'l-ḥijja 672/25-5-1274, the famous astronomer, philosopher, moralist and Ithna-'ashari theologian. Although he was not, at least during the whole of his life, an Ismaili, he had some very strong ties with the Ismaili community, which he, out of career considerations, always tried to deny, sticking to a rather naive story of his being "forced" by the Ismailis to compose certain books "for them". The nature of such ties remains a mystery. Ithna-'ashari scholars deny the authenticity of his Ismaili works simply out of sentimental considerations: "how could such a person be an Ismaili?" He produced several works on Ismaili doctrine, but most probably their greater part have been lost. Those which are in existence are:

(**687**) *Rawḍatu't-taslîm*, popularly known under the title of "*Taṣawwurât*", after the term used for the chapters into which it is divided. It was edited, translated into English, and commented, by W. Ivanow (Bombay, 1950). The last of the 28 chapters into which it is divided was apparently never written. The chief point on which Ithna-'asharis reject Ṭûsî's authorship is that in his short preface he dedicates it to "his dearest brother Badr ad-Dîn Ḥusayn", while in fact Ṭûsî had no brother of that name. It is, however, well known how much such prefatorial passages are subject to mutilation at the hands of the negligent copyists, and the copies on which the edition was based were modern and very bad. There would be nothing impossible in the supposition that in the original text there were words *barâdar-i dînî* "brother in religion", and these were turned into "Badru'd-dîn". There are many points in it on the basis of which Ṭûsî's authorship seems to be indubitable.

(**688**) *Sayr wa sulûk*, as it is popularly called. This short treatise on the elements of the Ismaili doctrine has nothing to do with Sufism; its original title was apparently lost. It is dedicated to the head Ismaili *dâ'î* of Quhistan in the second quarter of the vii/xiii c., Quṭbu'd-dîn "*ra'ís*" Muẓaffar b. Muḥammad of Qâ'în, himself a learned man and author of books. The treatise was long ago lithographed in Tehran, and recently was edited in his *Majmû'a'i Rasâ'il* (*-i Ṭûsî*) (Tehran, University publications series, no. 308, pp. 36-55) by the eminent Persian specialist on matters connected with Ṭûsî, Prof. Sayyid Taqî Mudarris-i Riḍawî. See also in his most valuable monograph on Ṭûsî, "*Aḥwâl wâ Âthâr-i . . . M. Ṭûsî*" (Tehran, 1334/1956, the same series, no. 282, pp. 322-323). The work does not contain anything new, but references to the *Fuṣûl-i Mubârak*, on which, as the author says, it is based, are interesting. The work is not divided into chapters.

(**689**) *Risâla dar Tawallâ wa Tabarrâ*, a very short (two pages) treatise on the affection to the Imams and dissociation from their enemies, from the Ismaili standpoint, composed in Quhistan at the request of a certain Najîbu'd-dîn. It contains a laudatory reference to *muḥtasham* Nâṣiru'd-dîn 'Abdu'r-Raḥmân b. Abî Manṣûr (to whom the *Akhlâq-î Nâṣirî* and some other works were also dedicated). See *"Aḥwâl wa Âthâr"*, p. 323.

(**690**) *Maṭlûbu'l-Mu'minîn*. A short elementary treatise on Ismaili doctrine, written at the request of a lady of high position (*ḥaḍrat-i 'ulyâ*), and based on the *Fuṣûl-i Mubârak*. Prof. Mudarris-i Riḍawî and other Ithna-'asharî scholars do not accept its genuineness, simply because its title, just as the titles of other Ismailitic works by Ṭûsî, are not found in any traditional lists of his compositions. It was edited in 1933 by W. Ivanow in the (now defunct) series of the Islamic Research Association, Bombay, 1933.

Doubtful:

(**690-A**) *Mir'âtu'l-muḥaqqiqîn*, a treatise on *ḥikmat*, what the mediaeval writers called *taṭbîq-i âfâq wa anfus*, the material and spiritual nature. The Badakhshani tradition (which can never be trusted) insists that it is one of the works of Nâṣir-i Khusraw. This seems to be highly improbable, judging from both the style and the language of the work. Sometimes it is attributed to Naṣîru'd-dîn Ṭûsî, and this seems to be more probable. The manner, the expert hand, which is seen in every line, and the predilection to short pamphlets, complete in themselves, vividly resembles Ṭûsî's other known works of this kind. Moreover, I have noticed in a few cases the use of the particle *hâ*, which also appears in other works of Ṭûsî, as the *Rawḍatu't-taslîm*. Specialists on Ṭûsî's works deny its connection with him because the title does not appear in the known lists of his works. This however, is no decisive proof, because the work may have been there, only mentioned under a different title (e. g. *Risâla dar âfâq wa anfus*). It is divided into seven chapters (*bâb*): *nafs*, *'aql*, *mabda' wa ma'âd*, *'âlam-i buzurg wa kûchik*, *taṭbîq-i âfâq wa anfus*, etc. It was lithographed in Bombay, A. H. 1333, and also in Persia. There is nothing in it directly connected with Ismailism.

Nizârî Quhistânî, ḥakîm Na'îmu'd-dîn Quhistânî, of Birjand, born about 645/1247, as he mentions himself in his *Dastûr-Nâma*, d. about 720/1320. He is chiefly known as a lyrical poet, the author of a *Dîwân* of *ghazals*, "predecessor of Ḥâfiẓ". In his works he is very cautious in expressing his Ismailî ideas. Copies of his works are not common, as far as his *Dîwân* is concerned, and of his *Kulliyyât*, which includes *all* his *mathnawîs* apparently only one is in existence. His *mathnawîs* of moralising contents find much less appreciation amongst the Persians. Apparently no copies are preserved amongst the Persian-speaking Ismailis, either in Persia or Badakhshan.

(**691**) *Dîwân*,—*qaṣîdas*, *ghazals*, *tarjî'-bands*, *qiṭ'as*, short *mathnawîs*, over three hundred pages, referring to the names of various persons whom the author lauds.

(**692**) *Adab-Nâma*, a lengthy moralising *mathnawî* poem of about 60 large pages.

(**693**) *Mathnawî*, without any title, beginning with the praise of Sharafu'd-dîn *"ḥakîm-i 'aṣr"*. An additional short *mathnawî* at the end.

(**694**) *Safar-nâma*, apparently the most interesting piece of his poetry, a *mathnawî*, narrating his journey from Khûsp, a town near Birjand, still in existence, to Baku in the Transcaucasia, for what we may conclude was the *dîdâr*, paying homage, to the Imam of that time. Late Prof.C. Saleman, of St. Petersburg, intended to edit it from the unique copy of the *Kulliyyât* (transcribed in 837/1433) preserved in the Public Library (now) Leningrad, but the work still remains unedited on account of the "dog in the manger" policy, for some reason adopted by the authorities of that institution. They neither edit it themselves, nor allow any one to have photostats or microfilms of it.

(**695**) *Dastûr-Nâma*, a *mathnawî* of 576 *bayts*, was edited and translated into Russian by the late Prof. E. Berthels, in the periodical called *Vostochniy Sbornik* (Leningrad, 1926, pp. 37-104), from the old copy mentioned above. It is a rather dull work of the type which becomes more common later on in the course of the development of the Nizari literature, namely a mixture of

the Ismaili and Sufic speculations. Therefore the poem was often treated as Sufic, and imitated by later poets. But those conversant with Nizari Ismailism can easily recognise certain typical Ismaili ideas, although cautiously camouflaged in Sufic verbiage.

(**696**) *Azhar wa Muzhir*, a lengthy *mathnawî* poem of approximately similar kind as the preceding one, in the metre of Niẓâmî's famous poem *Khusraw-u Shîrîn*. Here also one must have sound acquaintance with Ismailism in oder to separate the Sufic symbolic shell from the most ordinary Ismaili ideas.

(**697**) *Rubâ'iyyât*, a collection of quatrains which seem to be occasionally varying in different copies.

Works of Nizari are very iuteresting for the student of Nizari Ismailism because they come from the period from which we have almost no information. Therefore they well deserve a careful study by a properly equipped person. Unfortunately, so far they attracted only inexperienced beginners who knew nothing of Ismailism generally and Nizari literature in particular. They hunted for revelations about Sufism, while here Sufism was merely a camouflage. This also applies to the work by a young Russian student, Ch. K. Baradiyn, published in Persian in the sixth vol. of the *Farhang-i Îrân-Zamîn* (Tehran, 1959, *daftar* 2-3, pp. 177-203).

(**698**) A titleless work, by an anonymous author, quite popular in the Badakhshan (in a wider sense) area. Some Badakhshanis assure us that its title is *Naṣâ'iḥ-i Mu'min*, but this title was not found in any of the three copies which I saw, and generally such titles, based on tradition and memory, almost always prove to be imaginary. It would be much more appropriate to call it *Risâla dar Ta'wîl-i Zakât*, according to the central subject with which it chiefly deals. As to the period to which the work belongs, it is possible to say that its main portion, on the *ta'wîl* of the *zakât*, and the references to the dogmatic system, show a remote antiquity, somethig like the Qarmatian time. *Nâṭiq*, *Asâs*, seven Imams, Muḥammad b. Ismâ'îl being the Seventh *Nâṭiq*, the meticulous details of the stakes of the *zakât* on camels, sheep,

goats, etc., with merely passing references to trade and money, indicate a remote period, of purely pastoral economy.

But, at the same time the language, which contains quite many archaisms, cannot be that of the Qarmatian period. Moreover, amongst a few anonymous poetical quotations in the text, there are two from Sa'dî (d. 691/1292), thus suggesting quite a well-developed Nizari period. We must therefore think that either it is an adaptation of an ancient Persian work, slightly "refreshed" in language during the period soon after the fall of Alamut, or a compilation from early,- perhaps Fatimid,- Arabic works on *zakât*. As is well known, such an idea as anachronism as regards the dogmatic theory in evolution, did not exist for mediaeval authors.

The work is not divided into chapters, and no reference to any books is found in it.

(**699**) *Pandiyât-i Jawân-mardî*. The contents of the sermons of the Nizârî Imam Mustanṣir *bi'l-lâh* of Anjudân (d. 885/1480) who had a surname of Shâh-Qalandar, as is still remembered in Anjudân where his mausoleum is still known. The contents, rather aphorisms from his sermons, were remembered by one of his devout followers, who recorded as he recalled them, apparently under the successor of that Imam, 'Abdu's-Salâm. The text of the work, and an English translation, have been published by W. Ivanow (Bombay, 1953, as no. 6 in the series "A" of the Ismaili Society). A detailed introduction deals with the origin of the work. It is necessary to add some remarks to what has been said there. After acquiring an acquaintance with the works of Khayrkhwâh Herâtî (see nos. 705-708), I could see that there is a striking amount of the ideas sponsored by that latter author, especially about the supernatural importance of the *pîr*. Taking into consideration the fundamental differences between various versions of the text, mentioned in the Introduction, it is easy to suspect that the work has passed through the hands of Khayrkhwâh, who had no scruples about "editing" it, and probably ultimately it reached India in his version. It would be very interesting to study properly the old Sindi *transliteration* of the

Persian text (in Khojki script) which appears to be an *abbreviation* of the Persian text. We are rather in the dark regarding the matter, but it is not impossible that the old transliteration has been subsequently brought "to date" with the help of Khayr-khwâh's later version. In any case it is impossible to believe that it was he himself who was the author of the original Persian version, because as he wrote some of his works in 959-960/1552-1553, he could not be an adult at the time of the Imam Mustanṣir *bi'l-lâh* who died in 885/1480.

It may be also noted that the subdivision of the work into the *Pandiyât-i Buzurg*, *Pandiyât-i Kûchik*, and *Dawâzdah Jawân-mardî*, although the contents seems to be similar, may also be traced to different versions being combined together at some later date. The term *jawân-mardî*, apparently an attempt to render the original Arabic term *futuwwat*, is quite often used in Sufic literature, but seemingly never met with in old Ismaili works. It is interesting to note that a purely Persian word, with an Arabic Suffix of Plural (as in *dih-dihât*), apparently seemed quite strange to the people of poor literacy, and in many manuscripts one may find *Findiyâd*, or simply *Findiyâ*.

Mawlâ-nâ 'Abdu's-Salâm ibn al-Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh of Anjudân, the son and successor of the preceding author. He apparently died not long before 900/1494, but was not buried in the ancestral necropolis in Anjudan,- I have not found his grave there in 1937. Apart of his aphorisms included in the *Pandiyât-i Jawân-mardî*, mentioned just above, and a *qaṣîda* in Sufico-Ismaili strain (found in an anthology), some have been preserved:

(**700**) *Panj Sukhan* (*-î*) *ki Ḥaḍrat-i Shâh* ('*Abd*) *as-Salâm farmûdand*, an instructive opuscule of 30 small pages, deallng with the virtues appropriate to good believers. References to *fuṣûl-i mubârak*, to (Ḥasan) *'alâ dhikri-hî's-salâm*, Bâbâ Sayyid-nâ, *Faṣl-i Fârsiyân*", poets Qâsim Tushtarî, Thanâ'î, and a certain Fakhru'l-muḥaqqiqîn Sharafu'd-dîn Muḥammad.

(**701**) *Farmân* (*-i Shâh 'Abdu's-Salâm*), an epistle addressed to the Ismailis of Badakhshan and Kabul who followed the

Imams of the Mûḥammad-Shâhî line, inviting the erring people to reconsider the grounds for their allegiance and return to the fold of the right line of the Imams, that is to say, the Qâsim-Shâhî. The epistle, found in a *majmû'a* in Kerman, bears the signature of Shâh 'Abdu's-Salâm and the date 895/1490 (it is, of course a copy, not the original document).

Abû Isḥâq (*Ibrâhim?*) *Quhistânî*, flourished towards the end of the ix/xv, and in the beginning of the next century, because he mentions as the Imam of his time al-Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh (of Anjudân, who died in 885/1480). But it is also possible that al-Mustanṣir bi'l-lâh whom he mentions in his book, was the *second* Imam who had the same name, and was better known by his surname Shâh Gharîb, who died in 904/1499. Unfortunately, nothing more can be found about the author's biography, and he is apparently never mentioned in any Ismaili books which are available.

(**702**) *Haft Bâb-i Bû Isḥâq*, as the book is known. It most probably had an original title which was forgotten, pressed out of use by the "camouflaging designation" of "Seven chapters". The book is very rare. It was apparently several times re-edited, the first chapter being replaced with the first chapter of "*Haft Bâb-i Bâbâ Sayyidna*" (see no. 683). But the worst plagiarism was committed by Khayr-khwâh-i Harâtî, who fraudulently turned it into the *Kalâm-i Pîr*, i. e. a composition of Nâṣir-i Khusraw (see no. 704, 761). It was edited and translated into English by W. Ivanow, 1959, as no.10 in the series "A" of the Ismaili Society.

(**703**) *Ta' rîkh-i Quhistân*. This book is several times referred to in the works of Khayr-khwâh. As Bû Isḥâq in his book (p. 42) mentions that he intends to write (a book) in several chapters dealing with the *Fuṣûl-i Mubârak* and the *khuṭba*, sermon, delivered at the proclamation of the Great *Qiyâmat* in Alamut (559/1164), it may be possible that the lost *Ta'rîkh-i Quhistân* was ultimately written by him, and together with the

epistles and copies of the sermon of the Imams, sent to Quhistan, dealt also with the events of the Ismaili community there.

"Khayr-khwâh" of Harât, or Muḥammad Riḍâ b. Sulṭân Ḥusayn Ghûriyânî Harâtî, born about the end of the nineth/fifteenth c., educated in Mashhad. The date of his death could not be ascertained, but, judging from the dates found in his works, he was writing in or abont 959-960/1552-1553. He wrote an amount of prose, and also a lot of (rather inferior) poetry, using the pen-name "Gharîbî". In his works, both prose and poetry, he often gives references to his biography, from which it is possible to see that his father was an Ismaili dignitary, a sort of a "bishop" of what forms now the Northern Afghanistan. When he was killed by brigands, the Imam appointed in his stead his son, then a very young man. This imbued Khayr-khwâh with inordinate ambition which, probably gradually, developed into his construing a theory according to which a *ḥujjat*, or *pîr*, as he calls him, automatically becomes, by some supernatural process, almost consubstantial with the Imam. In developing his ideas he did not even stop at plain forgery. It may be admitted that in this he achieved quite an unbelievable success, and his ideas, however unsound from the standpoint of the original Ismaili doctrine, were widely accepted; the book which he forged has become one of the most sacred books of the Ismailis of Badakhshan, as it remains so to this day.

(**704**) *Kalâm-i Pîr*, otherwise known as the *Haft-bâb-i Shâh Sayyid Nâṣir* (that is to say, of Nâṣir-i Khusraw). In reality it has nothing whatever to do with the latter, and is a most shamelessly and crudely forged version of the book by an author of the end of the ix/xv c., Abû Isḥâq Quhistânî, known as *Haft-bâb-i Bû Isḥâq* (see above no. 702). Both the *Kalâm-i Pîr* and the *Haft-bâb-i Bû Isḥâq* have been edited and translated into English by W. Ivanow (Bombay, 1935 and 1959). The plagiarist filled it up with quotations from various Ithna-'ashari works, especially those of the Safawid period. The latest that may be identifed is the well-known work by 'Alî b. Ḥusayn Wâ'iẓ Kâshifî, the *Laṭâ'ifu'ṭ-Ṭawâ'if*, written not before 937/1530. It is

full of the fanatical spirit of the militant Safawid Ithna-'ashari Shi'ism. Nâṣir-i Khusraw, the follower of the moderate school of the Fatimid Ismailism, would be horrified had he lived to read this work, fraudulently given out as his production.

(**705**) *Risâla'i Khayr-khwâh*. The work apparently had no special title, and is sometimes called *"Risâla dar ḥaqîqât-i Pîr"*. It is not divided into chapters. A portion of this work, together with the 27th *qiṭ'a* of the next work, was lithographed by a certain Sayyid Munîr, in Bombay, 1333/1915, under the title of *Kitâb-i Khayr-khwâh Muwaḥḥid-i Waḥdat* (now long since out of print). The work offers a certain amount of theorising on the subject of the *"Pîr"* by whom the author implies the rank of what in the Fatimid Ismailism was the *bâb*, and which in the Nizari branch did not exist. As has been mentioned above, from what the *ḥujjat* was in the Fatimid time, - one of the 24 high dignitaries, the author tries to make something like a duplicate Imam. He then comes to his own biography and the journey to an interview with the Imam (this portion, to the end, was not printed by Sayyid Munîr).

(**706**) *Qiṭa'ât*. Another title-less work by the same author, consisting of 27 *qiṭ'as*, as they are called by him, of varying length. It would be better to class them as what may be called "pastoral epistles", referring to the affairs of the community headed by the author, with occasional theorising or moralising. The 27th *qiṭ'a* differs from the first 26, and has a special title *"Dar Bayân-i Pîr-shinâsî"*. It is not certain whether these 27 *qiṭ'as* are intended as a continuation of the preceding *risâla*, or not. They abruptly begin with *Qiṭ'a'i awwal*, and there is no colophon. At the end of the 27th *qiṭ'a* there is another "extension", which has the heading *"Faṣl dar bayân-i Shinâkht-i Imâm"*, and again it is not clear whether it is to be regarded as a part of the 27th *qiṭ'a* or an independent work. In any case it is in circulation as an independent opuscule.

(**707**) *Dîwân-i Gharîbî*. Poetry of Khayr-khwâh, chiefly *ghazals* of purely lyrical contents, as was the fashion during the Safawid time, is quite unbearably banale. Towards the end there are several *mathnawîs*, also edited by myself, together

with the two works mentioned above, in the series of the Ismaili Society "A", no. 13 (Teheran, 1961, under the title "*Tasnîfât-i Khayr-khwâh-i Herâtî*"). I hope to publish soon a translation of the first two works, but not of Khayr-khwâh's poetical works which do not deserve a translation.

(**708**) *Faṣl dar Bayân-î Shinâkht-i Imâm wa Ḥujjat*, etc. It was the first of the author's works which was edited and translated, in 1922, by myself, in the VIII-th vol. of the "Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal", Calcutta. The text and the translation were later re-edited in the series "B" of the Ismaili Society (B-3, B-4 and B-11). In fact, although short, it is of more value than the lengthy theorising in the *Risâla*, and appears a good summary of the author's ideas. The student may understand, however, that Khayr-khwâh's works by no means reflect the standard and entirely "orthodox" version of the Persian Nizari Ismailism.

Amrî Shîrâzî, Abû'l-Qâsim Kûhpâya'î, was a poet and educated man in the service of Shâh Ṭahmâsp Ṣafawî (930-984/1524-1576), by whose order he was in 973/1565 blinded and exiled to Shiraz on the charge of heresy (*ilḥâd*). He was executed on the same charge by Shâh 'Abbâs I in 999/1591. Cf. *Riyâḍu'sh-shu'arâ*, by 'Alî-Qulî Wâlih Dâghistânî, and the *'Arafâtu'l-'Âshiqîn*, by Taqiyyu'd-dîn Aḥmad Balyânî (in Dr. S. Kiyâ's "*Nuqṭawiyân yâ Pasîkhâniyân*", Tehran, pp. 58-61). Due to this tragic fate his poetry was never collected, and only isolated poems are incidentally found in anthologies. I was lucky to find some in Ismaili albums. In one of these he gives the date of composition Ṣafar 987/April 1579. Dr. S. Kiyâ for some reason treats him as a *Nuqṭawî*, but in his poems, written with obvious caution in Sufic style, Amrî very transparently eulogises "Nûru'd-dîn" and "Murâd-Mîrzâ" which most cartainly were the names of the Nizari Ismaili Imams of Amrî's time (the 35th and 36th, according to their traditional sequence). The Ismailis regard Amrî as their co-religionist, which is very likely to be true.

(**709**) *Ash'âr-i Amrî*. Apparently nothing appears in those which I read to prove that the author was a Ḥurûfî or Nuqṭawî. In one of the poems he clearly expresses apprehension that he may *again* suffer at the hands of his persecutors.

(**710**) *Bayân-i Sharî'at*, a treatise of about forty pages in the later Sufico-Ismaili style, composed in 1043/1634 (the author says that the title of the work, in the numerical value of the letters of which it is composed, gives the date of its completion). The name of the author was probably mentioned on the first leaf which has been lost. It is included in a *majmû'a* in I. I. Zarubin's collection of Ismaili manuscripts, brought by him from Shughnân in 1916 (now in the Institute of Oriental Studies, Leningrad), see W. Ivanow, "The Ismaili MSS in the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences", in the "Bulletin of the Academy", 1917, p. 374. The author intended to subdivide the work into four *waṣls*, but only the first *waṣl* is marked. He is very lavish in poetical quotations from many famous poets, some of whom rarely figure in Ismaili works, such as Jâmî, Âdharî, but the most interesting is a reference to the important Chishtî *shaykh* of Dehli, Niẓâmu'd-dîn Awliyâ (d. in 725/1325). This may indicate an Indian origin of the treatise.

Khâkî Khurâsânî, with the name Imâm-Qulî, a farmer from Dizbâd-i Bâlâ, a village in the mountains between Nishapur and Mashhad, a day's journey on horseback from either of these places. As may be seen from his poetry, he was a man of considerable talent, although never trained in the technique of his art. He was a devout Ismaili, was cruelly tortured by persecutors, but survived the ordeal. His grave is still shown in one of the numerous gardens in Dizbâd. Unfortunately, there is no tombstone, and, consequently, no definite date of his demise. Dates in his poetry, which he, fortunately, gives now and then, range between 1037/1627 and 1056/1646, thus covering the reigns of the Safawides Ṣafî (1037 - 1052/1628 - 1642) and 'Abbâs II (1052 - 1077/1642 - 1667). Local tradition invariably confuses (as often

happens in Persia) this Second Shâh 'Abbâs with 'Abbâs I, who is apparently not referred to in the poetry.

The poet finds it possible to refer to Anjudân (as the residence of the Imams) and also to the successive Imams of his time, namely Shâh Dhû'l-fiqâr, and his son and successor (cf. verse 314 of the edition), Shâh Khalîlu'l-lâh Nûru'd-dahr (in a ghazal in which the date 1056/1646 is referred to). In addition he mentions the person whom he calls Mîr 'Imâdu'd-dîn Ḥasan (verse 1273) and in another place (verses 1179 and 1419) Darwîsh Rustam. The highly eulogical terms used by him suggest that the first was the Imam of the time when that particular piece of poetry was written. It was during the Safawid period a common practice that various persons, and even Ismaili Imams, were for the sake of *taqiyya* affiliated to some of the powerful Sufic orders of the time, according to custom assuming a special "darwish name", something like the Darwîsh Rustam mentioned above. The matter is interesting, but the materials at our disposal are not sufficient to clarify it.

Khâkî's poetry is what the Persians call *'awwâmâna*, popular, as opposed to the high class poetry by recognised masters. It thoroughly bears the stamp of the Safawid "militant (and abusive) Shi'ism", pouring curses left and right, which makes it quite unprintable in the countries with Sunnite population. At the same time his poetry shows that it is not so much infected by the slavish imitation of Sufic models. It consists of a *Dîwân* of ghazals, several long *qaṣîdas* and *mathnawîs*.

(**711**) *Dîwân-i Khâkî*, a collection of ghazals, alphabetically arranged, over 2000 *bayts*. Occasionally rural forms of the Khorasani dialect are met with. I searched long for a really old copy, repeatedly visiting Dizbâd, but failed. Copies are rare, and usually made by people of little literacy. This *dîwân* was apparently till recently entirely unknown amongst the Ismailis of the Upper Oxus districts.

(**712**) *Nigâristân*, a lengthy *qaṣîda*, a religious and moralising poem, or a chain of poems, substantially flavoured by Sufic symbolism, altogether about 980 *bayts*. It is not entirely clear whether the title belongs to the whole, or only to the first section in this series.

(**713**) *Tarjî'-band*, about 120 *bayts*, the best known of Khâkî's poems of this kind, of smaller size.

(**714**) *Bahâristân*, a *qaṣîda* of 79 *bayts*, divided into five *faṣls*, dealing with: 1. symbolism of numbers in the Universe; 2. Adam and Satan; 3. *dawrs* in the world's history; piety in general, etc.; 4. *iqrâr* and *inkâr* of *Ḥaqq*; 5. *dîn*.

(**715**) *Ṭulû'u'sh-shams*, or *Ṭawâlî'u'sh-shumûs*, a lengthy *mathnawî* of about 1300 *bayts*, composed in 1055/1645, and apparently left unfinished. It is divided into seven *bâbs*, although there are many repetitions, either owing to the author having not sufficiently revised his poem when completed, or owing to the negligence of copyists. *Bâbs*: 1. *Imâm, Shâh-i zamân*; 2. *Imâm-i mustaqarr*; 3. *Imâm-i mustawda'*; 4. *fawâ'id-i mutafarriqa*; 5. *mabda' wa ma'âd*; 6. *khâtima'i maktûb*; 7. *Lâ Makân* (*Deity*). The latest *bâb* largely repeats the contents of the second *bâb*.

It took probably much daring to speak about such subjects, even with a thin colouring of the Sufic vagueness. His ideas on Ismailism appear to be substantially influenced by the writings of Khayr-khwâh-i Harâtî, which were probably known to him. In any case there is much coincidence in the ideas with those of the *Faṣl dar bayân-i shinâkht-i Imâm* (see no. 708). Many references to Sufic poets.

Raqqâmî Dizbâdî (or Khurâsânî), the son of the preceding author. His name was 'Alî-Qulî. Nothing is available as regards his biography, but I was lucky in having an opportunity to microfilm the autograph copy of his *dîwân* of poems. It belongs to a farmer of Qâsimâbâd, a village in about two miles from Dizbâd. I was assured that it was in the handwriting of the author himself, and it took much effort to make the present owner to lend it to me for photographing. Raqqâmî certainly was no match for his father, either in talent or education. His spellings are atrocious, and Arabic quotations (very rare) are hopeless. Having looked through the whole of his book, I could find no dates or references to persons (except for Biblico-Coranic personages).

(**716**) *Dîwân-i Raqqâmî* about 700 (!) pages scribbled in minute handwriting. The predominant majority of poems are

lyrical ghazals, of the most banale kind. A few *mathnawîs*, *qiṭ'as*, *tarjî'-bands*, and a profusion of *rubâ'îs* (quatrains, but alas, not of Khayyam's quality). Although his *dîwân* will not expand our knowledge of Ismailism, it is valuable as a genuine sample of the mentality of the average mediaeval Persian Ismaili in what may be called his raw condition, not polished by theological and philosophical studies. And the fact that is noteworthy is that Raqqâmî's creations so closely resemble the poetry of Fidâ'î Khurâsânî, his fellow-countryman, who lived 300 years later, and was a well educated man (cf. 735-A).

(**717**) *Qaṣîda'i Dhurriyya*, a versified list of the successive Nizari Imams, the best, if not the only, well-known creation of the author, most probably much polished in the process of long circulation. It was partly edited and translated by myself (Ismailitica, II, Calcutta, 1922), and in full by A. Semenov, with a Russian translation («Iran» II, 1928, pp. 1 - 24). He regarded it as a work of Khâkî, to whose authorship it is attributed in some manuscripts.

Mawlâ-nâ Shâh Nizâr, according to the traditional succession of the Nizârî Imams was the 40th in the line. He died, according to the inscription on the tombstone on his grave in Kahak (a small village N. W. from Maḥallât) on the 4th Dhî'l-ḥijja 1134/14-ix-1722, thus not very long before the Afghan invasion in the next year. He was, according to tradition, associated with the Sufic order of the Ni'matu'l-lâhîs, being widely known under the name of 'Aṭâ'u'l-lâh, and it is after him that Ismailis in certain villages in the district of Sirjân, in the Kerman province, are called 'Aṭâ'u'l-lâhîs.

(**718**) *Qaṣîda'i Shâh Nizâr*. It is difficult to say whether his writings are somewhere preserved. I was able to find only one *qaṣîda* attributed to him, in an album of poetry by different authors. It is written in the usual Safawid quasi-Sufic style.

Mîrzâ Aḥmad Wiqâr Shîrâzî was born about 1235/1820, and died in Shîrâz in Shawwâl, 1298/Sept., 1881. *Ṭarâ'iqu'l-ḥaqâ'iq*

gives a detailed account of him on pp.168-9 of the third part. He was in India in 1268/1852, enjoying at Bombay the hospitality of the first Âghâ Khân. Probably not an Ismaili.

(**719**) *'Ibrat-afzâ*, a biography of the first Âghâ Khân, Ḥasan-'Alî Shâh, and the story of his arrival in India. The work is written in simple prose, and the narrative is in the first person, as if by the Âghâ Khân himself. The work was lithographed in Bombay in 1278/1861. It was translated into Gujrati and printed about the same date. Copies are exceedingly rare because the paper decayed owing to climatic conditions.

(**720**) *R. dar Insâni Kâmil*, or *R. dar 'Irfân*, a treatise on Sufic or Ismailitic *ma'rifat*, apparently by the same Wiqâr (though there is no explicit indication in the text). It is vague and probably intentionally obscure. Lithographed together with the preceding work.

Shihâbu'd-dîn Khalîlu'l-lâh b. 'Alî Shâh, the elder half-brother of the late H. H. the Agha Khan, died in his early thirties on the 5 th or 6th Dec. 1884. From his works he appears as a highly educated and refined writer in Persian, in the style of the middle of the XIX-th c. He was expected to succeed as the Imam his father, Shâh 'Alî Shâh, who died a few months after him.

(**721**) *Khiṭâbât-i 'Âliyya* (or *al-Khiṭâbât al-'Âliyya*), a treatise in Persian on the principles of the Ismaili doctrine, and on ethics in general. It is divided into 64 chapters called *khiṭâb*, but this term should not be taken in a literal sense, and the book is no collection of sermons. Twenty two chapters are devoted to the basic points in the Ismaili doctrine; further the author touches on the esoteric matters, on pîr-ship, the *nûrâniyyat* of the Imams, *ta'wîl* of the basic prescriptions of the *shari'at*, some religious observances, and then the question of the *naṣṣ* (sermons 36-43), and the sequence of the Imams. He refutes the aspersions cast by the enemies of Ismailism on the genuineness of the descent of the Nizari Imams, such as that of the founder of the Fatimid empire, al-Mahdî, whom the Abbasid propaganda absurdly presented as the son of 'Abdu'l-lâh b. Maymûn al-Qaddâḥ. The next

was the case of Ḥasan *'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm* of Alamut, and finally the Imams after Shâh Gharîb. The author refers to the well-known histories, such as *Ta'rîkh-i Guzîda*, *'Uyûn al-Akhbâr* of al-Baghdâdî, *Ta'rîkh-i Firishta*, etc. Further the author entirely concentarates on ethical principles, recommending the usual virtues and condemning sin and evil behaviour. The work was in any case composed *before* 1880, the date of the death of the first Agha Khan, Ḥasan-'Alî Shâh, referred to in the text as still living. This work is edited by Hûshang Ujâqî (Teheran, 1963). An English translation is being prepared.

(**722**) *Risâla dar ḥaqîqat-i dîn*. A short (75 pages) treatise, perhaps left incomplete, preserved in an apparently autograph copy, which was reproduced photographically (two impressions), lithographed, and translated into English by W. Ivanow. Contrary to the preceding work, the Ismaili element is not treated explicitly. The work is apparently intended for the general reader rather than Ismaili students, and therefore deals with the subjects of ethics in a Sufic strain.

(**723**) *Naṣâ'iḥ-i Sarkâr-i Pîr*. A short sermon, six pages long, on the same ethical matters, in the same strain as the preceding two works. The author is called *pîr* in the heading because he was officially regarded as the *Ḥujjat*, or *pîr*, according to the terminology of the Indian Khojas.

Mîrzâ Ḥusayn b. Ya'qûb Shâh b. Ṣûfî Qâ'inî Khurâsânî, the grandfather of the notorious Mîrzâ Murâd of Se-deh, a village between Qâ'in and Birjand. He flourished about the middle of the XIX-th c. In his poetry he used the pen-name *"Ḥusayn"*. Although thus he had no connection with the Upper Oxus region in Central Asia, his works show many traces of his acquaintance with the *Ummu'l-Kitâb* (see no. 929) and its terminology (*dîwân*, 'Azâzi'îl, various *rûḥs*, *naqîbân*, *najîbân*, and so forth). As the *Ummu'l-Kitâb* appears to be unknown in Khorasan, it may be a chance meeting with Central-Asian Ismailis in Bombay, where he possibly was on a pilgrimage, which was responsible for his acquaintance with that ancient work.

(**724**) *Munâjât-i Ḥusayn*, in prose, a series of pious invocations, apparently having as their prototype similar darwish recitations, used during their religious ceremonies. Such invocations apparently were unknown to mediaeval Ismaili communities.

(**725**) *Tazyînu'l-majâlis*, sermon and invocations to be recited during the *shab-i yaldâ*, again a trace of the influence of Central-Asian Tajiks, or darwishes and 'Alî-Ilâhîs of the Western Persia.

(**726**) *Maw'iẓa'i shab-i yaldâ*, another sermon to be delivered on the same occasion.

(**727**) *Qaṣîda fî sâ'at-i Nawrûz-i Sulṭânî*, with a prose preamble.

(**728**) *Maw'iẓa fî's-sâ'at al-mubârak*, sermon of felicitation on the occasion of the Nawrûz celebrations.

(**729**) *Qaṣîda fî 'îdi'l-Fiṭr*, with addition of a sermon exhortating the payment of the *zakât*, and explaining the *ta'wîl* of the fast of Ramaḍân as abstaining from divulging the doctrine of Ismailism to the uninitiated.

(**730**) *Qaṣîda'i 'îdu'l-Aḍḥâ*, a similar poem celebrating the festival of sacrifice, and a suitable sermon, of religious and instructive contents, explaining the *ta'wîl* of its implications.

(**731**) *Qaṣîda fî awrâdi'l-mu'minîn*, a didactic poem in Sufic strain, with little concerning the Ismaili ideas.

(**732**) *Ṣifâtu'l-mu'minîn*, another poem, a *mathnawî* of about 392 *bayts*, dealing with the ideal qualities which a true believer should strive to attain. Apparently composed for the general public, not specially for the Ismaili readers.

Sayyid Sulaymân Badakhshânî, apparently a writer of the first half of the XIX-th c. Shihâbu'd-dîn Shâh (see no. 721) refers to his work in his *Khiṭâbât*, composed before 1880. No reliable biographical information is available.

(**733**) *Shâh-nâma* (or *Jang-nâma*), a huge versified history, legends, composed in imitation of Firdawsî's *Shâhnâma*. Manuscripts of it seem to be very rare.

Muḥammad Taqî b. 'Ali Riḍâ b. Zayni'l-'âbidîn Maḥallâtî who lived in India, and died about 1900 in Maḥallât. He was probably not an Ismaili himself.

(**734**) *Âthâr-i Muḥammadî*, a history of Ismailism and the familly of the Âghâ Khâns. The autograph copy, which was intended for presentation to H. H. the late Âghâ Khân, and dated Maḥallât, Rajab, 1310/Jan., 1893, is at present preserved in the library of the Sunni Jum'a Masjid, Bombay. How it found a way there, is obscure. The work is about 440 pages long, and is divided into four *aṣls*; each *aṣl* is subdivided into several *shâkhas*, or branches. The *first aṣl* deals with the history of Ismailism from the beginning to the son of Ruknu'd-dîn Khûrshâh, Shamsu'd-dîn Muḥammad. The story is compiled from the well-known Persian histories, and deviates from them only wherever the author commits a mistake, or gives free play to his fantasy. The *second aṣl* deals with the period from Islâm Shâh, the 30th Imam, and ends with the narrative of the circumstances immediately preceding the campaign of Ḥasan-'Alî Shâh, which ultimately brought him to India, whither he arrived on the 4th Rajab, 1256/1-ix-1840. The author's information is extremely vague, and the stories of the Imams are mostly tissues of platitudes, containing nothing but vague eulogies—no dates, no facts. The general tendency (which was the stimulus to the compilation of the work) was to emphasize the services of the author's own ancestors. Only here and there he gives some interesting tradition which probably was preserved in his time. The *third aṣl*, the most interesting, deals with the biography of Ḥasan-'Alî Shâh, and ends with the story of his demise. This portion (as also the end of the preceding chapter) is chiefly based on the *'Ibrat-afzâ* (see no. 719). It differs only in cases when the author adds the oral tradition which he heard from his relatives, the participants in the compaign, or intentionally "smoothes" some passages of the *'Ibrat-afzâ*, which are too outspoken to suit the laudatory style of his work. The *fourth aṣl* begins with the story of Ḥasan-'Alî Shâh's burial in the mausoleum of Ḥasanâbâd, in Bombay; a long and detailed account of his family, his brothers, and their relatives (the only part of the work in which the author was well informed, claiming to be related to the Âghâ-Khân); then he gives some reminiscences of the accession of the second Âghâ-Khân, 'Alî Shâh; a vague and summary account of the life of the latter; his death and burial; a detailed account of his family (again showing an "expert hand" in these matters); and, ultimately, a very brief collection of reminiscences of the early years of the deceased Âghâ-Khân, H.H. Sir Sulṭân Muḥammad. At the end he adds, in the 9th *shâkha*, an extract from the *Ta'rîkh-i Firishta*, concerning the visit of Shâh Ṭâhir (who himself was not an Imam in this line) to the Deccan, in the middle of the tenth/sixteenth century.

Fidâ'î Khurâsânî, Muḥammad b. Zayni'l-'âbidîn, commonly known as *Ḥâjî Âkhûnd*, of Dîzbâd-i Bâlâ (the same village as that of Khâkî Khurâsânî, see above, nos. 711-715). He was a very old man when I visited him in July 1918, and died soon after, in 1922. His education he received in one of the Mashhad madrasas, knew Arabic well, but presented nothing outstanding by himself, just an ordinary village Mulla. He tried his hand in writing poetry, but had not much talent.

(**735**) *Hidâyatu'ṭ-Ṭâlibîn*. He compiled, long before 1900, a booklet on the history of Ismailism, on the model, and making much use of, the Persian historical works which were popular at his time. He had no genuine Ismaili works on the subject, and his book contains nothing novel whatsoever. Nevertheless, in the absence of historical literature amongst the Ismailis, even his work was a step forward, and the booklet attained much popularity, being often copied. The booklet fell into the hands of a retired domestic servant in the Aghakhan's family, Mûsâ Khân, son of Muḥammad Khân Khurâsânî, who lived in Bombay and Poona, where he died in 1937. Although he had not much schooling in his young days, he was very fond of reading and copying Ismaili books of which he had a good collection. He also admired Ḥâjî Âkhûnd's book, but found a great defect in it, on which all Ismailis complained, - it contained almost nothing about the history of the Nizari Imams. Mûsâ Khân, being here-

ditarily associated with their family, decided to put things right, and by 1910 produced what may be called a second and amplified edition of the book. He had no authentic sources to draw on, and simply incorporated the oral tradition which he knew well, trimming and embellishing it as much as he could. He was very satisfied with his work, but was not cautious, and lent the original and only copy to a very pious and devout Ismaili from the Upper Oxus region, on pilgrimage in Bombay. The pious man stole the book. Years passed before it came to the surface again in 1926 in Russian Turkestan where it was acquired by a Russian official, A. Semenov, who was taking interest in Ismailism. He for years prepared an edition, which, however, appeared only after his death, in 1959, in the series of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow. A. Semenov who apparently has never seen the original version of the book, firmly believed that Mûsâ Khân, whose name appears on the copy, was merely a copyist, not co-author, wrongly regarded the book as the work of "Fidâ'î Khurâsânî", overlooking a statement on p. 161, where Mûsâ Khân quite clearly calls himself the *râwî*, narrator, compiler. It is a pity that the edition was accompanied by a great amount of advertisement on the part of A. Semenov's admirers who did everything to inflate the importance of the book, thus misleading the students who could not form an independent opinion. The fact is that Mûsâ Khân's devout improvisations on the subject of the history of the Imams have little to do with historical truth.

(**735-A**) *Ash'âr-i Fidâ'î*. Poems of Ḥâjî Âkhûnd, in different metres, in the form of *mathnawîs*, *qaṣîdas* and *ghazals*. A lengthy *mathnawî* about the manifestations of the Divine Substance in different Imams, in imitation of the well-known *Qaṣîda'i Dhurriyya*, ascribed to Khâkî, or his son Raqqâmî, see above, no. 717. *Naṣîḥat-Nâma*, of didactic contents. *Qaṣîda'i Nigâristân*, another lengthy *mathnawî*, the same as edited by A. Semenov in "Iran", vol. III, pp. 51-70. Etc. All this is very monotonous, in general Shi'ite spirit, with occasional eulogies of the late H. H. the Aghakhan, Sir Sulṭân Muḥammad Shâh.

Jalâlî Bukhârî, i. e. Sayyid Jalâlî Shâh b. Muk'hî Shâh Kalân, a native of Punyâl, near Gilgit (he himself does not mention the exact place from which he comes). He came all the difficult way down to Bombay for the *dîdâr*, or pilgrimage, only to wait almost hopelessly for the arrival of H.H. the late Aghakhan. As it may be seen from his book, he has ultimately given up his waiting, and wrote a book, certainly for submitting it to H.H. He complains that his Bombay co-religionists have not given him any co-operation; but, fortunately, he found a Hindu willing to help him, who for 200 rupees made his book lithographed. Of course, it was a poor man's show, and certainly nothing could be ascertained whether he got any benefit from it, and what finally has happened to him. According to information from his fellow-countrymen, he died about 20 years ago, that is to say about 1940.

(**735-B**) *Faḍîlat-Nâma*, lithographed in Bombay, 10 Jum. II 1345/16-xii-1926, 144 pages. The author mentions his being fully conscious of the imperfection of his Persian, and his lack of skill. The work is not divided into chapters, and consists of pious theorising, reinforced by quotations from some Ithna-ashari works, from the *Mathnawî* of Jalâlu'd-dîn Rûmî and some other Persian poets. The Ismaili element is not very prominent in it. Although of no value as a literary work, it presents an interesting "historical document" of the mentality of the Upper Oxus sectarians.

Sayyid Nâdir Khân b. Gauhar Khân Kayânî, the present *mukhî*, or parish president, of Kabul, born about 1900. He is a petty tribal headman in the Pasha'î speaking district North-East of Kabul. In his younger days he used to write poetry in Persian which is a foreign language for him.

(**736**) *Dîwân*, chiefly of ghazals, with a number of *rubâ'îs*. It was lithographed in Bombay in 1932, by some of his friends, themselves not strong in Persian. Therefore many passages are not quite intelligible. This poetry is entirely in the style of erotical symbolism, and does not plainly touch on matters of Ismailism.

(**737**) *Dîwân-i Payâm-i Shimâl*, another experiment of the author, also lithographed in Bombay (no date, but later than the preceding work). It contains ghazals, *mathnawîs* (*Dar Ta'wîl-i Bismi'l-lâh*, *munâjât*, etc.) It is edited better than the preceding one, and is more dealing with the matters relating to the Ismaili *ḥikmat*.

Popular works of uncertain date.

(**738**) *Jang-nâma'i Sîstân*, an apology of Ismailism in the form of a story of an orthodox Sunnite king of Sistan who plans an attack on the Ismailis, and ultimately becomes himself converted to Ismailism. The piece seems to be old, in any case belonging to pre-Safawid period. A prince (*malik*) of Sistan, at the time eighty five years old, says that it was his dream to go on pilgrimage to Mekka, and to fight the Ismailis who were in possession of the principality of Ṭabas, in Central Persian desert. To earn blissful existence in the hereafter, he picks up what appeared to him to be easier at his age, nameiy crushing the Ismailis of Ṭabas. Despite the admonitions of a wise adviser, he mobilises an impressive armed force, which is utterly defeated, with immense losses, while the Ismailis lose only two men, taken as prisoners. The two prisoners are brought before the prince, enter into a contest with learned theologians, and convincingly prove that Ismailism is based on the Coran and *ḥadîths*, and that there is nothing in its doctrine that clashes with Islamic orthodoxy. All are convinced and adopt Ismailism as the true form of Islam.

The whole story, with its tone of a religious fairly tale, contains nothing to help us ascertain the date of its composition, and it seems almost beyond doubt that it was "developed" in the course of time by various additions, belonging to later periods. The language in some places contains certain archaisms. Copies of this tale are fairly common, especially in the Upper Oxus regions.

(**739**) *Chihil Dunyâ*, or *Naql-i Chihil Dunyâ*, fantastical religious story in extremist Shi'ite spirit, undoubtedly of the well-

devloped Safawid period, glorifying 'Alî ibn Abî Ṭâlib as pre-eternal Light and Divine Being. 'Alî narrates to the Prophet about the "forty worlds" which he visited. There are also references to the beginning of Islam and intrigues of the enemies of 'Alî who persecuted "Fârsiyân" (Shi'ites) in Medina, and so forth. The whole thing ends in a popular apology of Ismailism, with a special emphasis on the necessity of the paying of *zakât* for spiritual progress.

The language is fairly modern, and there are many poetical quotations in Shi'ite spirit, many references to darwishes and Sufic speculations. The name of the author is not mentioned, and it is quite possible that in this we have an originally Ithna-'ashari and Sufic production which was "Ismailized" by an enterprising anonymous author.

Naẓîrî, a Shi'ite poet of probably later Safawid period, of uncertain date. It is difficult to believe that this Naẓîrî is the same person as Naẓîrî Nîshâpûrî (d. 1021/1613, cf. E. G. Browne, "Persian Literature in modern times", p. 252), who later emigrated to India, and was appreciated in an entirely Sunnite milieu in Gujrat.

(**740**) *Qaṣîda'i Chihil Dunyâ Ḥaḍrat-i Amîru'l-mu'minîn 'Alî karrama'l-lâh (wajha-hu)*. A poem glorifying Imam 'Alî. Unfortunately, in my copy the poem is incomplete, and it is impossible to compare it with the prose piece mentioned just above.

(**741**) *Sargudhasht-i Sayyid-nâ*. This is the well-known legendary account of the adventures of Sayyid-nâ, that is to say, Ḥasan b. aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ, contained in the *tadhkiras* and historical works of the Safawid time. It contains the familiar story of the "school fellows", the purchase of the stronghold of Alamut in the style of the Carthage queen Dido, etc. This version is rather short, and does not contain the story of Ḥasan's becoming a wazir in Baghdad, and certain other episodes, familiar from more complete versions. It has little to do with the original *Sargudhasht-i Sayyid-nâ* which was perused by Juwaynî and Rashîd Ṭabîb in his *Jâmi' at-Tawârîkh*.

(**742**) *Gawhar-rîz*. A legendary story of Nâṣir-i Khusraw's travels in the East, a kind of a supplement and conterpart to his famous *Safar-nâma*. Despite all all my efforts I could not get a copy of it, but was most positively assured by many Badakhshanis about its existence. There would be nothing impossible that a collection of imaginary stories was composed by some one in modern times, because, as far as is possible to see, the regions of the Upper Oxus apparently never knew the genuine *Safar-nâma*, until a lithographed edition was brought by pilgrims visiting Bombay for the *dîdâr* of the Aghakhan.

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2. The Conservative School

Nâṣir-i Khusraw. The famous Persian poet and theosophist, Abû Mu'în Nâṣir b. Khusraw b. al-Ḥârith al-Qubâdiyânî al-Marwazî al-Balkhî, was born in 394/1004, and died some time after 480/1087, perhaps really in 498/1104 (cf. W. Ivanow, "Problems in Nasir-i Khusraw's Biography", Bombay, 1956, pp. 15-16). His known works were all composed between 444/1052 and 462/1070, and therefore he must be regarded as an author of the classic Fatimid period. However, his name is never mentioned in the works of the Fatimid literature, so far as it is possible to see. Musta'lians of India definitely regard him as a Nizari, possibly because they think that all that was written in Persian in Ismaili literature belonged to the Nizari phase. There would have been nothing impossible in the belief that towards the end of his long life Nasir joined the Nizari side. But, dealing with his *known* works, we are obliged to treat him in the same way as other Ismaili authors of the period before the Nizari-Musta'lian split (487/1094).

Much has been written about Nasir, but his biography still remains full of insoluble obscurities. I have dealt at length with his literary production (See my "Problems etc."), so that here only short notes may be sufficient.

Nasir's works may be roughly divided into two groups: the works which have been preserved in the Ismaili milieu in the districts along the Upper Oxus, and apparently have never undergone the censorship of the orthodox divines who deleted matter relating to Ismaili religion. Such a group is small: *Rawshanâ'î Nâma*, *Wajh-i Dîn*, *Shish Faṣl*, and a certain number of his lyrics (but not the whole *Dîwân*). The second group comprises the *Safar-Nâma*, and all the known bigger works, with the greater part of the *Dîwân*. Nothing, of course, may be said of the works known only by their titles.

(**743**) *Rawshanâ'î Nâma*, a didactic poem, edited several times and several times translated into different languages, exists

in several versions. Although there hardly may be serious doubts as to Nasir's authorship in this case, the date of its composition still remains uncertain. Although I have not made any special study of the question, it seems to me the most probable as given in some Badakhshani manuscripts, should be 444/1053.

(**744**) *Wajh-i Dîn*, the only work of Nasir in the tradition of the Fatimid *da'wat* treatises, dealing with the *ta'wîl* of forms of worship and various other religious matters. The genuineness of Nasir's authorship is well attested by the *K. Bayâni'l-Adyân*, by Nasir's contemporary Abû'l-Ma'âlî Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydi'l-lâh (wrote in 485/1092). Unfortunately, the work does not contain any reference to Nasir's sources, or any dates, persons, or localities. It is divided into 51 *guftârs*, of varied length.

(**745**) *Shish Faṣl* (or *Rawshanâ'i-Nâma'i nathr*), ed. and translated by W. Ivanow (Bombay and Cairo, 1949), an elementary and concise treatise on Ismailism. The reason why it has received the same title as that of the well-known poem, remains uncertain.

Works preserved in a non-Ismaili milieu:

(**746**) *Safar-Nâma*, the most famous of Nasir's works. It was repeatedly edited and translated into various languages. Contains traces of certain passages being deleted, which have often been discussed. No clear indications of its author's being an Ismaili, nothing «to pin him to his word».

(**747**) *Gushâ'ish wa Rahâ'ish*, apparently the earliest in the series of Nasir's works on *ḥikmat*, a mixture of popular theosophy, natural science and religious questions. The text has been edited (from a unique manuscript) by Prof. S. Nafici (Bombay, 1950) and a second edition was published by the same, 1961, Tehran. It was translated into Italian by Prof. Pio Filippani Ranconi, Rome, 1951.

(**748**) *Khwânu'l-Ikhwân*, another work of similar contents as the preceding one. The text was edited by Dr. Yaḥyâ Khashshâb (Cairo, 1940), and a reprint of it appeared in Tehran, 1960.

(**749**) *Ẓâdu'l-Musâfirîn*, yet another work of a similar kind on *ḥikmat*, completed in 453/1061. It is twice referred to in the

Dîwân (305,330). It was edited by the late Dr. M. Bazlurrahman (Berlin, 1922), and recently reprinted in Tehran.

(**750**) *Dîwân* of poetry, sometimes called the *Dîwân-i Ḥujjat*, after Nasir's pen-name "*Ḥujjat*". By whom and where the poems were collected - is not known. The only fact is certain that manuscripts preserved in different libraries all substantially vary as to the contents, sometimes with manifest signs of interpolations. The best edition, Tehran 1929, by Sayyid Naṣru'l-lâh Taqawî, with the valuable *muqaddima* by Sayyid Ḥasan Taqîzadeh, was out of print, but has been later reprinted in Tehran, 1335/1951.

(**751**) *Jâmi'u'l-Ḥikmatayn*, the latest of the works of Nasir which are available and which preserve the date of composition, here 462/1070. It has been edited from a unique manuscript by Prof. H. Corbin (Teheran, 1953): «Kitab-e Jami' al-Hikmatain. Le Livre réunissant les deux Sagesses, ou Harmonie de la philosophie Grecque et la Théosophie Ismaélienne». It is a kind of "answers" to a versified series of 91 questions, in the form of a *qaṣîda* by an early author Abû'l-Haytham Jurjânî, of whose biography nothing is known.

(**752**) *Risâla dar Jawâb-i nuwad-u yak Faqara*, or "Explicit", as Prof. H. Corbin calls it, a kind of a synopsis of the preceding work. Its text was edited as an appendix (pp. 563-583) to the edition of the *Dîwân* of 1929. Copies of this work are common in Ismaili villages on the Upper Oxus.

Genuine works of Nâṣir-i Khusraw, referred to by him in his known works, but so far copies of which have not been found:

(**753**) *Dalîlu'l-Mutaḥayyirîn*, perhaps the same as *Kitâbu'd-Dalâ'il*, mentioned in the *K. Bayâni'l-Adyân*, and in the *Khwânu'l-Ikhwân*.

(**754**) *Kitâb-i Miftâḥ wa Miṣbâḥ* (or perhaps two different books, *Miftâḥ* and another *K. Miṣbâḥ*?), referred to in the *Shish Faṣl* and in the *Khwânu'l-Ikhwân*.

(**755**) *Bustânu'l-'Aql* or *Bustânu'l-'Uqûl*, referred to in the *Zâdu'l-Musâfirîn* and *Jâmi'u'l-Ḥikmatayn*.

(**756**) *Ikhtiyâru'l-Imâm wa Ikhtiyâru'l-îmân*, referred to in the *Jâmi'u'l-Ḥikmatayn*.

(**757**) *Lisânu'l-'Âlim* (or *Lisânu'l-'Âlam*?), ref. *ibidem*.

(**758**) *'Aja'ibu'ṣ-Ṣan'at*, *ibidem*.

(**759**) *Gharâ'ibu'l-Ḥisâb wa 'Aja'ibu'l-Ḥussâb*, *ibidem*.

Spurious works wrongly attributed to Nâṣir-i Khusraw:

(**760**) *Sa'âdat-Nâma*, a didactic poem, wrongly attributed to Nasir. Was originally edited and translated into French by E. Fagnan, ZDMG, 1880, pp. 643-674, and many times re-printed later on. Appended to the Teheran, 1929, edition of the *Dîwân*. The late Maliku'sh-Shu'arâ' Bahâr Sabzawârî has proved (in the third vol. of his important work, *Sibk-shinâsî*, p. 189) that it was in fact the work of another person, who apparently was not an Ismaili, namely Nâṣir-i Khusraw Sharîf-i Iṣfahânî (d. 753/1352). The poem evoked much admiration, and was often taken as a model in Persian literature.

(**761**) *Kalâm-i Pîr* or *Haft-Bâb-i Shâh Sayyid Nâṣir-i Khusraw*. Sufficient information about it has already been given, see nos. 702, 704. I take this opportunity to draw again the attention of the reader to the fact that an analysis of the doctrine propounded in it, given by me in the introduction to its edition, "*Kalâm-i Pîr*", Bombay 1935, pp. xi-lvii, was written by me while I had at my disposal only a few works of the Nizari literature, and did not know that the book was a fake. In the light of the information which was subsequently forthcoming it appeared that certain conclusions and deductions had to be substantially modified. I am preparing an independent paper which would be the *final* version of such an introduction, and cherish a hope that it may be published soon. The edition of the text, however, is quite all-right, and remains quite reliable. The book itself, as it is, is a very interesting "document" of the Safawid period and of the peculiarities of the mentality of masses. If any one has to take up seriously the study of that book, he must do it continually

keeping at hand the text of the *Haft Bâb-i Bû Isḥâq* for comparison and reference.

Another point to which I may draw attention, also based on the further perusal of the later Persian Nizari literature, is the fact that the *Kalâm-i Pîr*, although it played an important part in Badakhshan (in a wider sense), exercised no influence in its native Ismaili community of Persia, where it was produced, and where it remains unknown, just as its archetype, the *Haft-Bâb-i Bû Isḥâq*. Nâṣir-i Khusraw's name is revered, but there is nothing resembling a "cult" of this saint that has been known in the Upper Oxus region.

Sayyid Suhrâb Walî Badakhshânî, wrote, as stated in his work itself, in 856/1452 (sometimes the next year). Nothing is known about his biography. The Badakhshani oral tradition, always insensitive to anachronisms, makes him a pupil of Nâṣir-i Khusraw. It would be better to describe him as belonging to the movement in the Eastern-most Nizari Ismaili communities of Central Asia, Ismaili "conservatives", who although being to an extent "Alamutized", nevertheless retained in their outlook much from the earlier period. It seems that it would be perhaps possible to regard this tendency particularly characteristic of the Muḥammad-Shâhî circles.

(**762**) *Sî-u shish ṣaḥîfa*, perhaps also called *Ṣaḥîfatu'n-nâẓirîn*, met with in a large number of copies in the Upper Oxus region, but entirely unknown in Persia. It was edited by Hûshang Ujâqî (Tehran, 1961, in the Ismaili Society's Series A, no. 12). It is divided into 36 chapters (*ṣaḥîfas*), dealing with the usual *ḥikmat* subjects of *'aql*, *nafs*, *aflâk*, etc., and elementary religious ideas of Prophetship, Imamat and eschatology. There are traces that the author was acquainted with the *Rawḍatu't-taslîm* (no. 687) whose ideas he tried to express in a popular form, cf. text, pp. 85 - 86.

(**763**) *Rawḍatu'l-muta'allimîn*, by the same author, mentioned in the preceding work (no. 762). It was apparently a short treatise, as the author calls it *risâla*. Despite a careful search and inquiries, I could never find out whether it is in existence, although

there would be nothing improbable that it exists, but its original title has been forgotten.

Almost exclusively elementary treatises, the authors and the dates of composition of which are unknown.

(**764**) *Risâla'i Sâda* or *Risâla dar uṣûl-i dîn*, divided into five *mas'alas* and twelve *faṣls*, an elementary treatise on the ranks of the dignitaries in Ismailism, according to the usual gradation of the *ḥudûd*. Many quotations of poetry, but the names of the poets are not mentioned.

(**765**) *Ta'wîl-i haft arkân-i Sharî'at*, a short treatise, eight pages long, divided into seven *mas'alas*, explaining the *ta'wîl* of the prescriptions of the *sharî'at*. Some poetical quotations, names of poets not mentioned.

(**766**) *Risâla dar Dunyâ wa âkhirat*, a short moralising treatise with many poetical quotations, the latest from Qâsim-i Anwâr (d. 837/1434).

(**767**) *Bayân-i shinâkht-i haft ḥudûd-i dîn*, a short note, of two pages only, explaining the ranks of the Ismaili dignitaries.

(**768**) *Ta'wîlât-i "Gulshan-i Râz"*, an Ismailitic interpretation of some passages from the well-known Sufic poem, *Gulshan-i Râz* by Maḥmûd-i Shabistarî (d. about 720/1320). A note on this work was published by W. Ivanow, in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1932, pp. 69 - 78, and the text was edited and translated by Prof. H. Corbin in his «Trilogie Ismaéllienne», Tehran, 1961 (pp. 1 - 174, text 132 -161).

(**769**) *Risâla dar Ta'wîl*, a chaotic accumulation of notes on various Ismaili and cognate subjects, *fawâ'id-i mutafarriqa*, as the anonymous author writes. No hints as to the date of composition, or the name of the compiler.

(**770**) *Nûr-nâma*, a Sufic-like discussion of the Light of the Prophet, and such theosophic speculations which seem to be much influenced by the Indian Khoja ideas, probably imported by pilgrims from Bombay. See Semenov, p. 2181 - 2, xiii.

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3. Muhammad-Shahi Books

Muḥibb-'Alî Qunduzî (?) An author who flourished about 929/1523, in which year the work was transcribed by him. It was copied in a *majmû'a*, and there are some reasons to think that he was not only a copyist, but also the author of this work. Judging from it, it is possible to say that he was a well-educated man, and his knowledge of Arabic was quite sound.

(**771**) *Irshâdu'ṭ-Ṭâlibîn fî dhikr A'immati'l-Ismâ'îliyya*. A treatise of about 19 pages long, deals with the doctrine of Imamat as Divine guidance for mankind, its religious necessity, its foundation in tradition, its being a permanent institution, etc. The author gives the names of the Imams since the time of the Prophet, the Imams of Alamut, and then comes to the story of the split in the Imams' family, into the Muḥammad-Shâhî and Qâsim-Shâhî lines. He vindicates the rights of the first, the elder line, which he continues to the time at which he was writing, the last name being that of Raḍiyyu'd-dîn 'Alî, the father of Shâh Ṭâhir Dakkanî, who came to India in 926/1520. The reason why the author does not mention the latter probably is that the father was still alive. In his work the author refers to the *Fuṣûl-i Mubârak* and Naṣîru'd-dîn (Ṭûsî?) At the end of the work there is an appendix, with the title *Du'â-y-i taqarrub*, containing the same list of the Imams, in Arabic. Cf. my article, "A Forgotten Branch of the Ismailis", JRAS, 1938, pp. 57 - 69.

Ṣadru'd-dîn Muḥammad b. Ḥaydar b. Shâh Ṭâhir ad-Dakkanî, an Imam (?) of the Muḥammad-Shâhî line, who flourished in the beginning of the xi/xvii c., and died in 1032/1623 at Awrangâbâd in the Deccan. No details are available of his biography.

(**772**) *aṭ-Ṭarîq ilâ'n-Na'îm*, in Arabic, probably a translation from Persian.

(**773**) *Kitâb al-Khudâwand 'Azîz Shâh*. A collection of sayings and epistles (*fuṣûl*) of the Muḥammad-Shâhî Imam 'Azîz Shâh,

who lived towards the end of the xi/xvii c. in India, and d. about 1103/1692, at Awrangâbâd. The work is *in Arabic*, and comes from Syria where remnants of this sub-sect are still found. The general contents of the collection is religious and moral instruction. In the sayings of the saint sometimes Persian sentences are quoted «in the original», in queer transcription, just as *"bîr mâ kaftan bîr shumâ kardân"* (*bar mâ guftan, bar shumâ kardan*), which is translated into Arabic by «we have to order, and you have to carry out the order». There are occasional references to *Mawlâ-nâ al-Khudâwand 'alâ'l-ḥaqq wa'd-dunyâ wa'd-dîn Qâsim Shâh li-dhikri-hi at-ta'ẓîm*. Also occasional references to Alamut: starvation at the time of *Mawlâ-nâ 'alâ dhikri-hi's-salâm*, when Sayyid-nâ (Ḥasan b. aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ, here called *Bâb*) distributed to the defenders some walnuts and 12 *mithqâls* of barley as daily rations (taken from a historical work, but chronology confused).

The name of the author is not mentioned, but he on the whole imitated the style of the ancient *ḥadîth* literature: «I heard from some servants of the Mawlâ-nâ», or simply «I asked Mawlâ-nâ». Sometimes tradition is offered from the early Imams. A reference is given to Muḥyî'd-dîn al-'Arabî, the famous Sufic theosophist. The *faṣls* uniformly open with *faṣl min al-lafẓ ash-sharîf, sharrafa-hu'l-lâh*. Unfortunately, apparently none of them contains any date. The instruction preached is of a primitive nature, with particular stress on prayers, ablutions, and on the strict concealment of the doctrine from those uninitiated.

Ghulâm-'Alî b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, originating from Ahmadnagar in the Deccan; he used the pen-name Ghulâm or Ghulâmâ, and completed his work ab. 1110/1698. He wrote in India in the reign of Awrangzîb, and therefore had to observe the maximum of the *taqiyya*. Most unfortunately, he chose for his work a versified form which greatly impeded him to speak sense. Who he was, where he lived, and what was the ultimate purpose of his work, - to all such questions his poem does not provide any answer. Cf. my articles: "An Ismailitic Pedigree" in the Journal of the As. Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1922, pp. 403 - 406, and "A Forgotten Branch of the Ismailis" in the JRAS, 1938, pp. 57 - 79.

(774) *Lama'ât aṭ-Ṭâhirîn*. A huge (1162 pages) versified work, subdivided into 110 *lam'as*, chapters (according to the numerical value of the letters composing the name 'Alî). In his gigantomania the author produced immense (not rarely more than half-a-page) headings to each *lam'a*. The author camouflaged Ismaili ideas and terms with Ithna-ashari and Sufic expressions, invented new terms (*Tu'âm* for *Imâm*, *Tu'âmiyyat* for *Imâmat*, etc.) There is no systematic arrangement, and everything, probably deliberately, is left in a somewhat chaotic condition. In addition to this the author's continuous struggle with verse made him to introduce endless repetitions, circumlocutions and vague allusions. In my article mentioned above ("A Forgotten Branch . . .") I have summed up the contents of the headings of all the *lam'as*, so that those interested may enlighten themselves. The author gives some vague and allusion-like references to the Imams of the line who followed Shâh Ṭâhir. One of them is 'Azîz Shâh, cf. the Syrian Muḥammad-Shâhî work just above (no. 773).

There may be some other Arabic works, but, unfortunately, they were not available for examination, and certainly contained no explicit statement of their belonging to that branch.

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4. The Ismaili Literature of Syria

Of all the countries of Asia, except for the Yaman, Syria undoubtedly had the longest contact with Ismailism. But while the Yaman was a backwater, far away from the high roads by which various invaders moved, Syria always remained a cross-road of innumerable invasions and armed conflicts, all invariably accompanied by ruthless looting and destruction. To these must be added the unending series of what may be called "domestic" fights against the Sunnis, Nusayris, Christians, uprisings of a local character, and so forth, in which looting was done meticulously and thoroughly, to the last thread, as the inhabitants invariably complain. It is therefore not surprising that almost all their ancestral literary heritage is gone. In 1937 I for two months toured Syria searching for information about Ismaili literature preserved there. The results were most disappointing, as I merely had to hear the story, over and over again repeated on every occasion, of the books gone with the loot, and only very few, incidentally removed beforehand to Beirut, still preserved in the hands of different owners, whom it is not easy to trace.

As is known, all the Ismailis in Syria belong to the Nizari branch, and are subdivided into two sub-sects, the one forming the majority (ab. 20.000) are the Qâsim-Shâhîs (or, as they are called at present, Âghâ-Khânîs) and Muḥammad-Shâhîs (locally known as Ja'farîs), who form a minority (about 4000) and are found only in the districts of Maṣyaf and Qadmûs. The Âghâ-Khânîs could produce nothing except for Bombay publications, and the Ja'farîs obstinately stuck to the ancient taboo of keeping their literature hidden. It was only almost twenty years later that I got a list of the Ja'farî literature from an enterprising journalist of Beirut. I offer it here (re-arranged chronologically) for what it is worth, without concealing the fact that I personally believe that it is neither complete nor entirely reliable in details. We may, however, hope that more information may gradually come up in the course of time, judging from the swift pace of progress in the advancement of Syria.

Before we proceed with the examination of the list, we may recall that old and well-known work on Syrian Ismailism which was published (Paris, 1874) by S.Guyard, "Fragments relatifs à la doctrine des Ismaélis", which offers 82 pages of texts with a translation and comments. Generations of Oriental students read it with full confidence as to the reliability of the information therein contained. But re-reading the work now, after so many original Ismaili texts, whose authenticity is beyond any doubt, had become accessible, one cannot avoid a feeling of doubt and suspicion. It looks as if the learned author has been misled, owing to the complete lack of a proper background, simply because of inavailability of standard Ismaili works at his time. His ideas and deductions would have been entirely different had he got into his hands some of the "classic" works which, according to the list analysed further on, really had been in the possession of the Syrian Ismailis. A small circumstance, however devoid of any special significance, opens a little the door to doubt: on p. 2 of his foreword he mentions that the original manuscript, dated 1220/1805, was bought from a certain J. Rousseau (a Levantine gentleman who carried on a brisk trade in Arabic manuscripts, supplying these to European libraries; similar texts are found in many European centres, there are a lot of them in what was formerly known as the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, now Institute of Oriental Studies, Leningrad). The author quotes a note by J. Rousseau in which he mentions that the original copy was very negligently written, almost undecipherable. (For instance, the text systematically reads *lâṣiq* for the old well-known term *lâḥiq*).

This sounds strange. Syrian Ismailis, just as the Druzes, regard the copying of their religious books as a meritorious act, and do it with great care, at least as regards the legibility, not orthography in which they are often helpless. But more suspicion arises from the contents. The opening piece, *Faṣl* (pp. 17-19) is attributed to Râshidu'd-dîn, obviously Râshidu'd-dîn Sinân, who claims rebirth through ages, and, apparently, regards himself as a *ḥujjat* (originally an ordinary "bishop", as it was in the Fatimid times), aspires to some extraordinarily inflated religious standing, so vividly resembling the pretentions of his colleague

of 400 years later, Khayr-khwâh of Herat (cf. p. 142-144 above). Further there are pieces, *sûrat*, imitating the Coran.

All this at once makes one to think about some kind of a reformist movement, like that of Khayr-khwâh's, of al-Mush'sha', Bâb, etc. Frequent references to personages from the Bible and Gospels make such impression still stronger. It is impossible to believe that Râshidu'd-dîn Sinân, being of sane mind, could write both the *Faṣl* of the piece 1, and also the *"sûrats"* further in the book. The introduction of his name, thickly enveloped in the cobwebs of legend, here most probably appears just as Nâṣir-i Khusraw's name in the *"Kalâm-i Pîr"*, to cover forgery.

Anyhow, things being as they are at the moment, it is impossible both to accept the "Fragments" as genuine, or to prove "with documents in hand" their being a misunderstanding.

Turning to the list of works preserved in the community, we may see that the collection includes quite a fair proportion of works preserved by the Musta'lians. Not only "classics", but also such as the *Tâju'l-'aqâ'id*, (see no.244), or *Dustûr* by Shamsu'd-dîn Aḥmad aṭ-Ṭayyibî, a clearly Bohora name, most probably are recent importations from India.

Another group are "title-less" works, sometimes served under the name of some famous ancients, such as Nakhshabî, Ḥamîdu'd-dîn al-Kirmânî, or even Qâḍî Nu'mân.

A certain number of works of Syrian authors is found in the list, but it is difficult to say anything about their contents without examining the books. It is interesting to note that although the list emanates from the Muḥammad-Shâhî (Ja'farî) community, only one, and quite a late, work belongs to this subsect (it is mentioned above, together with the works in Persian, in the section of the Muḥammad-Shâhî literature, cf. no. 772).

Qâḍî Nu'mân (cf. above, pp. 32-37), his *Asâsu't-ta'wîl*, *Ta'wîlu'd-Da'â'im*, *al-Ikhtiṣâr*. It is remarkable that the *Da'â'imu'l-Islâm* does not appear in the list.

(**776**) *ar-R. al-Mudhniba*, attributed to Qâḍî Nu'mân and printed by A. Tamer in the *Khams Rasâ'il Ismâ'îliyya* (Beirut, 1956 pp. 27-87). No historical work and traditional list of Nu'mân's works mentions this *risâla*, and it is highly probable that its attribution to Nu'mân is fictitious.

(**776-A**) *Ja'far b. Manṣûri'l-Yaman's* (see above, pp. 21-22) *Kashfu'l-Asrâr*. No such title is found in the Musta'lian lists. Perhaps it may be either *Asrâru'n-Nuṭâqâ'* (see no. 14) or possibly the *Kitâbu'l-Kashf*, edited by Prof. R. Strothmann (Bombay, 1952) (see no. 13).

Abû Ya'qûb as-Sijistânî's Tuḥfat al-Mustajîbîn (see above, no. 35).

Sayyid-nâ al-Mu'ayyad fî'd-din ash-Shîrâzî, his *al-Majâlis al-Mu'ayyadiyya* (see above no. 163). As he has several collections of the *majâlis* to his credit, further identification is necessary.

(**776-B**) *Sayyid-nâ Ḥamîdu'd-dîn al-Kirmânî* (see above, pp. 40-45). *Usbû' Dawri's-Sair*. No work with such title is known amongst the compositions of the author.

Muḥammad b. 'Alî b. Ḥusayn (or Ḥasan) *aṣ-Ṣûrî*, d. in 487/1094.

(**777**) *aṣ-Ṣûriyya, al-Qaṣîdat-*, on *ḥikmat*, printed by A.Tamer, Damascus, 1955.

(**778**) *Nafaḥât al-A'imma*.

(**779**) *at-Tuḥfat az-Ẓâhira*.

'Alî b. Muḥammad b. al-Walîd, Tâju'l-'aqâ'id (see above. no. 244).

Qays b. Manṣûr ad-Dâdîkhî, flourished in the beginning of the vii/xiii c., and in a *qaṣîda* eulogized the Nizari Imam of Alamut 'Alâ'u'd-dîn Muḥammad, the father of Ruknu'd-dîn Khûrshâh.

(**780**) *R. al-Asâbî'*, text printed by A. Tamer, *Khams Rasâ'il*, pp. 157-179.

(**781**) *ash-Shâmiyya, al-qaṣîdat*.

(**782**) *Majmû'at al-Lafẓ ash-sharîf li-Sinân Râshidu'd-dîn* (d. 589/1193). It must be certainly a collection of his alleged sayings, prepared possibly long after the saint's death.

(**783**) *Maṭâli'u'sh-shumûs fî ma'rifat an-nufûs.*

Dâ'î Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Dâ'ud, surnamed *ar-Rafnâ*, flourished in the beginning of the ix/xv c.

(**784**) *ar-R. al-Kâfiya*, on *ḥikmat*. Printed in the *Khams Rasâ'il*, pp. 89-97.

Abû'l-Ma'âlî Ḥâtim b. 'Imrân, surnamed *Ibn Ẓahra*, flourished in the beg. of ix/xv c.

(**785**) *al-Aḥkam wa'l-Fatarât*, on Kabbalistic matters.

(**786**) *al-Mabda' wa'l-Ma'âd.*

Shihâbu'd-dîn Abû Firâs, flourished in the beg. of the x/xvi c. in Syria.

(**787**) *Sullam aṣ-Ṣu'ûd ilâ Dâri'l-khulûd*, comp. in 901/1495. Hopelessly hollow and banale.

(**788**) *Sullam al-Ittiqâ' ilâ dâri'l-baqâ'*, another production in the same style.

(**789**) *at-Taḥâmid al-khamsa*, by Ibrâhîm, son of Abû Firâs, x/xvi c.

(**790**) *Dîwân Mazyad al-Ḥillî al-Asadî.* Not in B and BS. The famous dynasty of Mazyadids (403-545/1012-1150) in Ḥilla, on the Euphrates, is well known in history, but it is impossible to find out what connection with it the author of the *Dîwân* had and what were his ties with Ismailism.

(**791**) *ad-Dustûr wa Da'wat al-Mu'minîn li'l-ḥudûr*, by Shamsu'd-dîn Aḥmad aṭ-Ṭayyibî, certainly a Musta'lian name.

(**792**) *al-Fawz wa'n-najât*, by Ḥasan al-Mu'addil, on *fiqh.*

(**793**) *ar-R. fî'n-Nafs an-nâṭiqa*, by the same.

(**794**) *Maṣâbîḥu'l-hidâyat*, by Muḥammad Abû'l-Makârim.

"Nakhshabî" obviously nothing to do with the ancient Nakhshabî (see above, pp. 23-24).

(**795**) *K. al-Maḥṣûl.* Late Prof. M. Kamil Hussein, of Cairo, who has had a chance to examine this book in Syria, was sure that it had nothing to do with the early Ismaili work which was criticised by Abû Ḥâtim ar-Râzî and Ḥamîdu'd-dîn al-Kirmânî.

(**796**) *K. al-Burhân* (?)

(**797**) *K. al-Îḍâḥ*(?) Cf. above no. 83.

Nûru'd-Dîn b. Aḥmad.

(**798**) *Fuṣûl wa Akhbâr.*

(**799**) *al-Majâlis al-Aḥmadiyya.*

(**800**) *at-Tâ'iyya*, by 'Âmir al-Baṣrî.

(**801**) *at-Tarâtîb as-Sab'a*, by Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl b. 'Alî al-Bazâ'î (?)

(**802**) *al-Manâqib wa'l-qiṣaṣ.*

(**803**) *Qaṣâ'id Ismâ'îliyya.*

(**804**) *Majâlisu'l-mu'minîn.* Although the Syrian Ismailism treat it as an Ismaili work, it is in reality a collection of Shi'ite tradition, attributed to Imam Ja'far, and preaching various moral virtues which the faithful should cultivate.

(**805**) *K. al-Mîthâq*, most probably the text of the Ismaili creed, what in the Fatimid literature is called *'Ahdu'l-awliyâ'*.

(**806**) *Faṣl*, the epistle dealing with the biography of Sinân Râshidu'd-dîn, edited and translated by S. Guyard in his paper "Un Grand Maître des Assassins" (Journal Asiatique, 1877, pp. 324-480). The *Faṣl* edited by S. Guyard is apparently unknown to the Ismailis at present, except through his publication.

5. The Literature of the Khojas and Satpanthis in India

In addition to what has been said in the Introduction (pp. 11-12) about the general characteristics of the Khoja and Satpanth literature, it may be mentioned on the basis of the information supplied by the educated devotees (as I could not ascertain this directly, not being able to read in Gujrati and Kachhi), that it is not extensive. It is quite possible to think that what is now in existence is the result of a process of selection which was at work for a long time. The *gnans*, of which it chiefly consists, were never built into a "canonical version", respectfully preserved. Creation of new compositions is suggested by oral tradition, the new good ones were apparently accepted, and the inferior old ones were allowed to fall in oblivion.

No special care was given to the preservation of the names of the authors, not to speak of the dates referring to their biographies. A great majority of *gnans* are the creation of anonymous authors. Apparently quite a considerable proportion of those attributed to the authorship of Great Pirs probably have nothing to do with them, and were composed at a much later date. This particularly applies to the gnans *about* various *pirs*, their miracles, their sayings.

Still more noteworthy matter is the fact that many important works usually appear in two versions, *moto*, large, and *nano*, small, that is to say full and abbreviated form. I on many occasions tried to find out from those people who were supposed to know well the gnan literature, whether the *nano* version is an abbreviation of a certain work, or *moto* is an amplified form. The answer invariably was that although both appear under one and the same title, both have nothing to do with one another, are quite different works. But what about similarity of titles? Does it mean that both are the product of different authors? No satisfactory answer was ever received.

Another noteworthy feature is their polyglottism, inclusion of words, sometimes sentences, from several Indian dialects. Whatever the cause may be, it may be simply credited, or debited, to the great size of the Indian population and multiplicity of its languages. We must not forget that for a long time gnans were preserved only by memorising them. Printing appeared centuries after the gnans remained in circlation.

It may be also mentioned that all this literature is written in *slokas*, according to the original term which is usually translated by "verse". But technically the term *sloka* also means *line*, in manuscript or printed book. Copyists who transcribe Sanskrit books usually charge not per page, but for so many *slokas*, meaning lines, in which one line may contain two or more verses of poetry if lines are long.

All this refers to the old canonical literature. For the last 50-75 years, however, with the cultural progress of the community, printing has brought the book much nearer to life, and quite a sizeable modern literature in Gujrati and Sindhi has arisen. It includes religious as well as educational and generally lay or journalistic subjects, translations, and so forth. Some writers, or journalists, have established a reputation is this new literature.

There are many weeklies, monthlies, and irregular journals and magazines in Gujrati and Sindhi, sometimes, with a small section in English, published in different cities of India, and now Pakistan. The oldest is apparently "The Ismaili" in Bombay, continuing for more than 37 years. The majority, however, were short-lived, closing soon after the start due to lack of public support, because the reading habit has not yet spread sufficiently, and the more advanced strata, knowing English, prefer the big English newspapers printed locally.

In my paper "The Sect of Imam-Shah in Gujrat" (Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R. Asiatic S-ty, Bombay, 1936, pp. 19-70) I have given a list of the old canonical literature of Satpanth (which is exactly the same as that of the Khojas), but it seems, some titles were overlooked. Now a young friend of mine, Mr. J. H. Lakhani, of Bombay, was kind enough to give me for reference his notes. I hope, with the help of these, the account below will be nearer to being complete.

It may be added that the branch of the Satpanth, with the headquarters at Pirana, about ten miles West from Ahmadabad, also sometimes produce editions of their religious literature, in Gujrati. But the Eastern branch, the Maratthi speaking community, with the headquarters in Burhanpur, East Khandesh, is rapidly lapsing back into Hinduism because their pirs, for various reasons, declare themselves being pure Sunni Sufis, who had nothing to do with Ismailism. Various Hindu reactionary organisations carry on active propaganda amongst the community.

The list offered below is arranged according to traditional sequence of the Pirs, which apparently has very little to do with history. But this is all that is available.

Pîr Shams, traditionally the earliest missionary who came from Persia, often confused both with Shams-i Tabrîz, Rûmî's associate, and even Imam Shamsu'd-dîn Muḥammad, son of Imam Ruknu'd-dîn Khûrshâh. Cf. W. Ivanow, "Shums Tabrez of Multan", Prof. M. Shafi Presentation Vol. Lahore, 1957, pp. 109-118.

(**807**) *Brahma Prakash*, "Divine Illumination", in verse, 150 slokas.

(**808**) *Hans Hansli ni Varta* (also called *Mulbandh no Achhodo*), a parable of he-goose and she-goose, in 504 couplets, with refrain.

(**809**) *Chandrabhan*, with a *Vel*, in 50 short poems, with an appendix of 12 poems.

(**810**) *Surbhan*, with a *Vel*, of the same type as the preceding, 62 verses.

(**811**) *Raja Govarchand Tatha Teni Ben ni Katha*, Govarchand becomes an ascetic and his sister Nilavanti tries to dissuade him. Two parts, 294 and 96 verses.

(**812**) *Mansamjmâni* (*Vadi*). Advices to one's mind, a chaotic collection of pious thoughts, full of glaring anachronisms. Consists of 401 poems of 20 lines each.

(**813**) *Sloko Moto*, bigger collection of gnans, of the usual pious contents, 240 quatrains.

(**814**) *Vaek, Moto*, with a *Vel*. Discourse (bigger), with an appendix, 64 plus 31 quatrains.

(**815**) *Garbi*, 28 poems sung at a festival. Were translated by Mr. Vali-Bhai Master, and edited by W. Ivanow, in "Collectanea" (Ism. S-ty series "A" no. 2, Cairo, 1948, pp. 55-85).

(**816**) *Gnans*, 108 in number, including the 28 preceding Garbis.

Pîr Ṣadru'd-dîn, a saint, now known as a Sufic shaykh Ḥâjî Ṣadar Shâh, buried in Jetur, situated whithin 15 miles from Uchh, in Bahawalpur state, apparently floorished in the second half of the eighth/fourteenth and beginning of the nineth/fifteenth c. Of his biography nothing is remembered. Many works are ascribed to him, in how far correctly, only Allah knows.

(**817**) *Buj Nirinjan*, "Knowledge of the attributeless Deity", 581 line, divided into 33 parts, on *tawḥîd* and *ma'rifat*.

(**818**) *Aradh*, "(Divine) adoration", divided into 20 parts of about 21 lines each.

(**819**) *Vinod*, "Bliss", so named after the citation in which the name of the *Pîr* is mentioned, who thanks God for the bliss which he enjoys. Total 22 verses.

(**820**) *Gayantri*, preaching Islam, in 11 parts. Cf. no. 835.

(**821**) *Athar Ved*, an interpretation of the ancient Hindu *Atharva Veda* dealing with the incarnations of the Deity. In 11 parts.

(**822**) *Surat Samachar*, "Understanding of form", of things, good and evil, in prose.

(**823**) *Girbhavali* (shorter), on macrocosmos and microcosmos, in prose. Cf. no. 828.

(**824**) *Budh Avatar*, on the IX-th avatar of Vishnu, in Islamic interpretation. 525 lines, in verse.

(**825**) *Das Avatar* (shorter), "Ten Incarnations", in prose and verse, in 10 chapters.

(**826**) *To Munivar Bhai* (*Moti*), as it is called after the initial words, or, as its title appears in the text of the poem, *Muman Chitveni*, in verse, 552 quatrains. Mystical cosmogony. Cf. no. 849.

(**827**) *Bavan Ghati*, "Fifty-two passes", on sins and virtues in the form of the soul of the dead man being questioned at 52 "passes" on the way to blessing, in 52 short parts.

(**828**) *Girbhavali* (*Moto*), on macrocosmos and microcosmos (as no. 823), in prose, in the form of a dialogue, modelled on *Gita*.

(**829**) *Khat Nirinjan*, with a *Vel*, in 260 distichs, divided into three parts. On knowledge of God, prayers, Imamat and pirship, superiority of Satpanth.

(**830**) *Khat Darshan*, with a *Vel*, "Six Hindu philosophical schools", a comprehensive work, like an encyclopaedia of Satpanth theosophy, divided into four parts. In verse.

(**831**) *Bavan Bodh*, *So Kiriya*, *Sahi Samrani*, "52 advices", "100 obligatory acts", and "True remembrances", in verse. A version of *So Kiriya* is called *Shiksha Patri*. Both were translated in the "Collectanea" (Cairo 1948) mentioned above.

(**832**) *Sloko* (*Nano*), a collection of gnans, 120 quatrains. On virtues and sins.

(**833**) *Du'a*, a collection of prayers, still in use.

(**834**) *Gnan*, a collection of devotional hymns regarded as composed by Pîr Ṣadru'd-dîn.

Pîr Abû Qalandar Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn, locally called *Ḥasan Daryâ*, is buried within the distance of less than a mile from Uchh, in Bahawalpur state. From several sources it appears that he died about 875/1470.

(**835**) *Gayantri*, regarded also as a work of Pîr Ṣadru'd-dîn, cf. no. 820.

(**836**) *Brahma Gayantri*, in prose, divided into three parts, deals with the creation of Brahma from Tej, light.

(**837**) *Hasnapuri*, with a *Vel*. (Hasnapuri, which gives the title to this, being incidentally mentioned in the text, is the corrupted ancient name of Dehli, Hastinapuri). The work itself deals with cosmogony, sacred books, etc. In verse, 165 and 84 lines.

(**838**) *Ḥasan Kabiruddin ane Kânipa no Samvad*, meeting of Ḥasan with the sage Kanipa; both discuss various religious matters. In prose and verse. Authenticity of Ḥasan's authorship is very doubtful.

(**839**) *Anat Akhado*, "The Battlefield of Anat", 500 quatrains, deals with eschatology.

(**840**) *Anant na nav Chhuga*, "Nine appeals to the Imam", praying permission to travel to Persia for the *dîdâr*, nine poems.

(**841**) *Satgurnur na Viva*, "The Marriage of Satgurnur", the saint of Navsari, a legend. In verse, 222 lines.

(**842**) *Anant na Viva*, "Naklank's marriage with Anant (Earth)", 223 verses, dealing with eschatology.

(**843**) *Gnans*, 79 in number. Contain references to different Imams, such as Abû Dharr-'Alî, Dhû'l-fiqâr-'Alî, and others.

Imâmu'd-dîn 'Abdu'r-Raḥîm b. Ḥasan, surnamed *Imâm-Shâh*. d. in Pirana, 919/1513, the founder of the present Satpanth sect. He is regarded as a great saint by the Satpanthis, but simply as a "*sayyid*" by the Khojas (the title is merely honorary, and does not imply descent from 'Alî). Cf. W. Ivanow, "The Sect of Imamshah in Gujrat", J. B. B. R. A. S., Bombay, 1936, pp. 19-70.

(**844**) *Atharvedi Gavantri*, "A motif from Atharva Veda", a symbolic theogony. In prose, about five pages.

(**845**) *Bai Budhai*, Imamshah's talk with his sister Budhai on religious and theosophic subjects. In verse, 71 short poems.

(**846**) *Gugri na das gnan*, "Ten gnans of the *gugri*" (the *gugri* is a glittering bell, usually placed for decorative purposes

over the tombs of various saints). 10 short poems, dealing with the virtues desirable in the faithful.

(**847**) *Naklank Gita*, a mythological cosmogony, in prose.

(**848**) *Moman Chetamani*, "Mu'min's warning", in verse, 630 poems of 5 lines each. Instruction in moral and religious matters for the believer.

(**849**) *To Munivar Bhai (Nani)* or *Muman Chitvarni*, instruction in religion for the believer, in verse, 313 quatrains, every one beginning with the words *"to munivar bhai"*. Cf. no. 826.

(**850**) *Vis tol*, "Twenty stops", on sins and vices. In verse, in 20 lessons.

(**851**) *Pandavona Parab*, "Chapter on Pandavas", in verse, 578 couplets, on avatars of the Deity, rebirth of Pandavas, etc. Date of composition 1437 Samvat, or 1381 A.D., quite impossible if the work is really by Imamshah.

(**852**) *Jannatpuri*, "The Paradise Town", narrating Imamshah's visit to Paradise. In verse, 153 quatrains. Summed up in "Collectanea" of the Ism. S-ty, no. 2 (Cairo, 1948), pp. 122-137.

(**853**) *Mul Gayetri yane shrushtinun mandan ane nure hidayat varnan*, "The basic cosmogony and the story of *nûr-i hidâyat*", in prose, divided into several sections.

(**854**) *Satveni (Nani)*, "True words" (shorter). In verse, 22 short poems. On various religious matters. Cf. no. 861.

(**855**) *Das Avatar (Moto)*. In verse, 1613 couplets, with the usual stories of gods and saints.

(**856**) *Jhankar*, "Battle", on eschatology. In verse, 486 couplets.

(**857**) *Man sanjamni*, "Advices to mind", with a *Vel* (appendix) and 46 *Sunnat*. On purposes of preaching Islam, prescriptions of *shart'at*, relations between the *pîr* and *murîd*, etc. In verse, 332 couplets.

(**858**) *Mulbandh Sol Thal, Char Chowk*, with 17 *gnans*. In prose and verse. Deals with the inevitable matters of cosmogony, pious behaviour and virtues.

(**859**) *Gnans*, 162 of them, supposed to be composed by Imamshah, which is doubtful.

Nar-Muḥammad Shâh, the son of Imamshah, was born about 874/1470, and died in Pîrâna about 940/1534. His name, sounding too Hindu, is sometimes given in a more Muslim form, Nûr Muḥammad. He is known as the author of some works:

(**860**) *Satvarni*, story of the Imams.

(**861**) *Satveni-ji Vel*, on righteous life, worship, and an extension, *Vel*, a cursory sketch of the history of the Imams and *pîrs*, occasionally giving dates in Samvat era. The latest dates are 1516 and 1520. These dates are usually unreliable, but in modern works by the Khojas and Satpanthis are preferred even in the cases in which absolutely reliable dates, such as taken from tombstones of the saints' graves, are available. Cf. no. 824.

(**862**) *Gnans* by different authors about whom nothing except for bare names has been preserved by tradition. They were recently printed by the authorities of Pîrâna, together with the *gnans*, supposed to be by Ḥasan Kabîru'd-dîn. There are: *Putla*, legend of Pîr Satgurnur's miracle in making Hindu idols dance, etc., surely not composed by himself. Nine *gnans* attributed to that saint. Five gnans by pîr Hasam (Hâshim?) Shah. A *gnan* by pîr Nâṣiru'd-dîn. 4 *gnans* by pîr Ṣâḥibu'd-dîn (Shihâbu'd-dîn?) A *gnan* by pîr Tâju'd-dîn. One *gnan* by pîr 'Alî Akbar Beg.

The date and authenticity of these *gnans* entirely depend on tradition which is very unreliable.

(**863**) *Manhar*, a treatise on theosophy and asceticism, by a minor saint, Ghulâm 'Alî Shâh, whose grave is in Keyra, Kachh.

ADDENDA

1. Shi'ite Darwishism

We have mentioned above the role which was played by late Sufism in the decline of Nizari literature. It was, however, not what may be called "learned" Sufism, as, for instance, expounded in the works of Jâmî, but a new version of it thoroughly permeated with Shi'ite sentiment and the cult of Mawlâ-nâ 'Alî, Ithna-'ashari Imams and saints. Shi'ite topics by the Safawid time gradually acquired domination over Sufic ideas, and general literature almost turned into a wholesale production of laudatory verses in honour of the Shi'ite holy personages, just as at the earlier periods of the literary history of Persia it was mostly devoted to the lauding of various princes or influential persons of Maecenatic disposition.

The history of Shi'ism in Persia and Central Asia was never properly studied, but the common idea that Shi'ism came to Iran chiefly under the Safawides is grossly incorrect. Shi'ism had already many important centres and schools in the fourth/tenth c. not only in various cities of Persia proper, as Ray, Nishapur, Qum, Kashan, etc., but also Balkh, Marw, Samarqand and other important places of Central Asia. All these were seized, and Shi'ism was suppressed and driven away from these by the recurring Turkish invasions which supported Sunnism.

After the Mongol invasion, especially under Timur and Timurides, the earlier figure of the Sufi as a devout ascetic, theologically educated and absorbed in worship, gradually became extinct, and was replaced by that of the *Darwîsh*, who claimed connection with the old Sufism, *Taṣawwuf*, but in reality had not much in common with its original and basic ideas and ideals.

Darwishism was no novelty; its roots go deep into history. Darwishes at earlier periods were chiefly known under the name of *qalandars* (the term which, except in poetry, became obsolete and almost forgotten under the Safawides). Bands of qalandars, often armed for self-protection, chiefly specialised on pilgrimages

to Mekka, for earning spiritual benefits promised for this, for themselves and also for those who supported them. As is well-known, pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) by proxy is allowed in Islam, under certain circumstances.

With the gradual spread of Shi'ism, and, at the same time growing complexity of the political structure of the Middle East, Sunnite qalandars mostly emigrated to the countries which patronised Sunnism, where they sought association with the more popular and "democratic" Sufic organisations such as Qâdirîs, Rufâ'îs, Naqshbandîs, etc., but, not being offered sufficient support, sank to the position of common beggars, jugglers and snake-charmers.

In Persia, with the spread of Shi'ism, the ranks of the darwishes began to be more and more filled with rural paupers and misfits from amongst town folk in whom acute bitterness for their position could easily ferment into extremist religious tendencies. Their mentality essentially differed from that of the regular Sufic affiliations (*silsila*) which were properly organised and, at least some, possessed sufficient endowements to live on and continue their devotional practices. The bands, or guilds, of the illiterate beggars who pretended to be Sufis only for stimulating charity, had to think more about getting enough to eat. They evolved a kind of a "constitution" (which hardly deserves to be called organisation) studded with secret rites and various ceremonies to which outsiders were not admitted, and which gradually were more and more leaning to Shi'ite extremist ideas.

Already soon after the beginning of the decomposition of the Mongol rule in Persia darwishism appears playing a prominent role in the powerful social and religious movement of Sarbadârs in Sabzawâr (737-783/1337-1381). Under the guidance of able leaders such as Ḥasan Jûrî and Shamsu'd-dîn 'Alî they could show themselves as the real backbone of the movement.

The Sarbadâr darwishes were no exception. Their role and tactics were apparently quite similar in the movement of the "Brigand Mahdî", Muḥammad *al-Musha'sha'* in Khûzistân and Southern 'Irâq (d. about 870/1465), and his criminal successors. Again, darwishes played an outstanding and organising part in

the origin of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq sect in Kurdistan about the same period. Later on it was probably the darwishes who fanned "the flame of the sacred hatred" in the Shi'ite troops of Shâh Isma'îl Ṣafawî (d. 930/1524), and the subjects of the Safawid state generally. These are only the principal events in which the darwishes proved to be a serious force to be taken into consideration.

The old Sufic tradition had to make concessions to the new spirit, despite the patronage of the upper feudal strata of the society. The leading organisation of this kind, the Ni'matî, founded by Ni'matu'l-lâh Walî of Kerman (d. 834/1431), stubbornly stuck to the old models. It was always selective in its membership, and occupied the position of an "aristocratic" organisation. Later on it became a fashion in the higher strata of the feudal society to be a member of this affiliation.

Rural Persia, including the Ismailis, was to a very great extent influenced by what the darwishes preached. Their way of preaching, spontaneously and *naturally* evolved by the circumstances and local conditions, formed a unique and ingenius propaganda machine. The darwish, singing in the bazars, everywhere, always was "here and now" with his inobtrusive appeals. Besides, this system had the unique peculiarity – it was self-supporting. What was also of great importance was the fact that darwishism was never considered as a separate school or branch of the religion of the majority, a *madhhab*. It was something like the guild of the artisans, with whom, generally speaking, darwishes were always closely connected. So it continued even till quite recently when a few decades ago almost the whole of the class of the junior government clerks, petty tradesmen, and other similar working people in Persia belonged to the "Mullâ-Sulṭânî" or "Gunâbâdî" order, an off-shoot of the Ni'matu'l-lâhîs (with headquarters in Baydukht, Gunâbâd), without in anyway forfeiting their Shi'ite orthodoxy in the eyes of the people.

Whatever may be the evaluation of the Shi'ite sentiment as a social factor, it cannot be denied that darwishism, in its "bread-earning" aspect, carried with it much of infectious silt of superstition, religious prejudice, intolerance and all sorts of beliefs in magic, prophetic dreams, divination, and so forth. These

negative developments did not affect the illiterate farmer only, but spread widely into the educated classes, to a great extent affecting the outlook of those strata which should have been leading the nation on the path of progress. Old Sufic works became too "heavy" for the newer generations which demanded miracles, something which did not demand thinking, mere capacity of believing being quite sufficient for it. Everything dissolved in words, not any constructive action, dreams and good intentions instead of facing the horrible reality of the mediaeval life as it was.

An interesting and illuminating fact may be cited. The next in popularity to the famous *Mathnawî* of Jalâlu'd-dîn Rûmî were didactic poems of 'Aṭṭâr (d. ab. 621/1230), especially his *Manṭiqu't-ṭayr*. Amongst the Ismailis even now they are regarded almost as religious books. Farîdu'd-dîn 'Aṭṭâr of Nishapur, as is well-known, was a strict Sunni as he appears in his genuine works, which contain no Shi'ite motives. But in the course of time a series of works appeared, attributed to him, full of the most intense Shi'ite sentiment, – such as the *Maẓharu'dh-dhât*, *Maẓharu'l-'ajâ'ib*, *Lisânu'l-ghayb*, and many other poems. They greatly puzzled students of Persian literature. In his interesting book (written in Persian), *Justujû dar aḥwâl wa âthâr-i Farîdu'd-dîn 'Aṭṭâr-i Nîshâbûrî*, Tehran, 1942, Prof. Sa'îd Nafici offers a suggestion that such ultra-Shi'ite poems were in fact the works of a forger, a third rate poet whose original name was forgotten, a certain man from Tûn, an old Ismaili town, destroyed by Mongols. He was 'Aṭṭâr's "double" whose works apparently had much success, especially in Safawid time.

This case was not isolated, - there was much falsification of the poetry of the early Sufic poet *Sanâ'î* (d. ab. 545/1150), under the name of Thanâ'î, and probably many other who still remain undetected.

We have already mentioned the story of the "Well-wisher", Khayr-khwâh-i Harâtî (cf. above, nos. 704-708) who wrote in 959/1550, and simply transplanted into Ismailism the Shi'ite *darwîsh* (and NOT Sufic) idea of the con-substantiality of the *pîr*, spiritual guide, with the Imam, apparently based on non-Ismaili theories of *ishrâq* and *fanâ fî'l-Ḥaqq*.

2. Ahl-i Haqq

In my book, "The Truth-Worshippers of Kurdistan" (Ismaili Society Series A no. 7, Bombay, 1953) I analyzed the different elements which the doctrine and tradition of the sect of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq, or ʿAlî-Ilâhîs, had absorbed in the course of its development, tracing the chronological stratification of the successive layers. There is, however, no need to say that many points still remain uncertain, chiefly due to the fluidity of this uncodified doctrine, often substantially varying in different localities of its vast dispersal. On the whole there cannot be any doubt as to most important role which Shiʿite darwishism played in moulding the sect as it is at present. The sectarians themselves realise their close connection with the darwishes of the Ḥaydarî or Khâksâr affiliation, so much that they admit such darwishes to their secret gatherings from which all outsiders are rigidly excluded.

Despite the absence of any recordable contact with the Druzes the ʿAlî-Ilâhî beliefs include many elements which are almost identical in both cases. Not only is there the idea of the Divinity of the Imam in his periodical (*shaʿshaʿânî*) re-incarnations, "coming in different dresses" (*dûn, libâs*)", but also the re-incarnation of the Imam's close associates (cf. above, nos. 563 and 623),

Although the sect, even as recorded in history, is already in existence for more than five hundred years, it has not developed any religious literature, no doubt due to strict enforcement of the taboo on revealing its doctrine to non-initiated. It possesses no books which are regarded as enshrining their dogma and tradition, although all this is preserved, and taught orally, under an oath of secrecy. All this, if written down, together with the huge store of religious poetry (*kelams*, as the poems are called), would make quite a sizeable literature. It even has a special name, of *Kalâm-i* or *Alfâẓ-î Saranjâm*, the latter meaning "completion" or "realisation" (of the promise or covenant between the Deity and Man, concerning the revelation of the Truth, *Ḥaqq*). Only recently, during the last century, some sectarians, living in more advanced milieu, and capable of writing in Persian, made some attempts of writing down the substance of their "mythology", tradition about successive incarnations, the most complete so far known being the *Tadhkira'i Aʿlâ*, edited by myself in the "Truth-Worshippers" mentioned above.

The misunderstanding about the meaning of the term *saranjâm* (which is an adjective, and not a substantive) often leads to the appearance of the title "Saranjâm" as a supposed "Bible" of the Ali-ilahis. In his interesting work (written in Arabic), *al-Kâkâ'iyya fî't-ta'rîkh* (Baghdad, 1949), the author, ʿAbbâs al-ʿAzzâwî, mentions (p. 54) that *"Kitâb Saranjâm"* was composed (not stated in what language) by a certain Mullâ ʿÂbidîn. "It is a large book. Professor Sayyid Bahâ'u'd-dîn Nûrî translated it into Arabic. It is not (yet) printed". It is interesting to find out in what position the matter is now, and in what language the original was written,- possibly in Gurani?

The illiteracy prevailing amongst the Kurdish tribes and Turks who profess these beliefs apparently does not permit any modernist or reformist movement to rise and develop. The only, or the latest which is known, is that which was started about fifty years ago by a certain Niʿmatu'l-lâh Jayḥûnâbâdî who produced a book in Persian under the title of *Furqânu't-akhbâr*, a few copies of which are in circulation. His ideas were, however, rejected outright and condemned by the sect, never taking the book seriously despite the efforts of the author and of his son.

3. Hurufis and Nuqtawis

The general cultural decline and the spread of superstition after the Mongol invasion and under the Timurids incidentally led to the revival of the ancient beliefs in the magical intrinsic force of letters, figures, and even dots used in writing. It may be said that this particular superstition is as old as Pythagoras of Greece (the VI-th c. B.C.), or older. Being as ever-green as astrology, it periodically becomes a fashion only to decline in public interest and after a time to revive again, when a genius re-discovers it, and begins to theorize. Ismaili literature abounds in such theories, and, of course, it was one of the chief sources of the miraculous wisdom with the darwishes, as it remains to this day.

Such a genius in the second half of the viii/xiv c. was in Iran, namely in Mâzandarân, a certain Faḍlu'l-lâh Astarâbâdî, who developed a doctrine, "philosophy", out of such speculations. It is not easy to find out what they exactly were because he himself has not left any sensible account except the book which is called *Jâwîdân-i Kabîr*, a thick volume, written partly in Persian, partly in Arabic, and partly in the dialect of Mazandaran. All this was written not to make anything clear, but to obscure and mistify. It displays many contacts with Ismailism, Alamut, even refers to Sayyidnâ Ḥasan b. aṣ-Ṣabbâḥ.

The author succeeded in collecting around himself a crowd of Sufis or darwishes, but the orthodox raised a cry about his being a heretic, and the mad son of Timur, Mîrânshâh, who was the governor of the province, murdered him. His followers dispersed and the majority fled to Turkey. Here they succeeded in associating themselves with the order of Bektashîs, who accepted their religious books and incorporated them into their own religious literature, in which they became preserved.

The most prominent amongst Faḍlu'l-lâh's followers was a certain Maḥmûd from the village called Pasîkhân, near Rasht, in Gîlân, who received the honorary title of *'Alî al-A'lâ*. He

disagreed and quarreled with his teacher, ultimately left him, and developed his own system, a sort of "magical atomism", in which he took as the origin of things *dots*, in different combinations. His end was apparently non-violent, and he died in 831/1428, not clear, in Persia or in Turkey.

According to tradition which is partly recorded in various Persian *tadhkiras*, or biographical works, Maḥmûd was a very prolific author. He composed a *tafsîr* of the Coran in 16 vols, and *one thousand* short treatises, *risâlas*. All these perished, and only the title of one *risâla* is remembered, it was *Mîzân*. He was giving himself out as a Divinely sent "Messenger", the *Mubayyin*, "Explanator", to initiate a new era in the history of the world. How his and the Hurufis' relations have finaly christallised, this is difficult to ascertain owing to great scarcity and inaccessibility of materials.

In his book *"Nuqṭawiyân wa Pasîkhâniyân"* (in Persian), Dr. Ṣ. Kiyâ has collected from various Persian historical and biographical works references to this sect (pp. 19-71). Unfortunately, his main source of information was the *Dabistân-i Madhâhib*, a work of rather doubtful reliability, written in India, apparently coming from Parsee sources. Dr. Kiyâ mentions only one "historical" *Nuqṭawî*, namely a poet of the Safawid period, Abû'l-Qâsim Amrî Shîrâzî (cf. above note no. 709), who was persecuted for his alleged heresy and blinded by Shâh Ṭahmâsp in 973/1565. The accusation in *ilḥâd* (the term by which the hereticism of the Ismailis is usually designated), for which he was murderd, may evoke doubts as to whether he really was a *Nuqṭawî*. Persian Ismailis regard him as an Ismaili, and his verses are occasionally found in anthologies and personal "albums" (because owing to his tragic end his poems were never collected in book-form). In some of his poems (cf. no. 709) he expresses fears of being *again* persecuted. And yet he finds in himself courage to refer, however cautiously, to two Ismaili Imams. Was he really a *Nuqṭawî*, or were *Nuqṭawîs* in reality crypto-Ismailis?

The late Prof. E.G. Browne collected an interesting list of Hurufi works acquired by different European libraries. He published it in his paper in JRAS 1907. As the subject is very in-

teresting, but it is rather difficult to get the article for reference, especially in the East, I decided to reprint his list for the convenience of the students. The matter is worthy of investigation, as we also know very little in reality about the Bektashis.

About the Hurufis' association with Bektashis I may add here just a few words from my own experience. In 1948, while in Cairo, I had a talk with the *dede* (head) of the famous Kaygusuz *teke*, asking him about the *Jâwîdân* and Hurufi books. He said that he was an Albanian, did not know Persian, never heard of the Hurufi books or *Jâwîdân*. Was it *taqiyya*, or truth? It is of course quite possible that many Hurufi books, incorporated into Bektashi literature are no longer regarded as Hurufi, and such a question is never raised. But *dede's* ignorance about the Jâwîdân is strange.

Works in Persian:

(867) *Âdam-nâma.*

(868) *'Arsh-nâma.*

(869) *Asmâ'i Ḥusnâ.*

(870) *Bishârat-nâma'i Ilâhî.*

(971) *R. Mîr Fâḍilî.*

(872) *Ash'âr-i Amîr Ghiyâth.*

(873) *Hidâyat-nâma.*

(874) *Istiwâ-nâma*, by Amîr Ghiyâthu'd-dîn Astarâbâdî.

(875) *Jâwîdân-nâma'i Kabîr*, by Faḍlu'l-lâh Astarâbâdî.

(876) *Ash'âr-i Khayâlî*,

(877) *Kursî-nâma.*

(878) *Lughat-i Jâwîdân-i Kabîr.*

(879) *Maḥabbat-nâma*, by Faḍlu'l-lâh.

(880) *Dîwân-i Nasîmî* (Persian and Turkish).

(881) *Risâla'i Faḍl-i Ḥurûfî.*

(882) *Risâla'i Ḥurûf.*

(883) *Ash'âr-i Sayyid Sharîf.*

(884) *Shirâb-nâma.*

(885) *Taḥqîq-nâma.*

(886) *Waṣiyyat-nâma.*

(887) *Zubdatu'n-najât.*

Work in Arabic:

(888) *Mir'âtu'ṭ-Ṭâlibîn.*

Works in Turkish:

(889) *Âkhirat-nâme*, by Firishta-zâda.

(890) *Dîwân-i 'Arshî-Dede.*

(891) *Bishârat-nâma'i Rafî'î.*

(892) *Bayân-i aḥwâl-i ḥashr.*

(893) *Bayân-i Silsila'i Bektâsh.*

(894) *Manâqib-i Bektâsh.*

(895) — — another.

(896) *Dâ'ira'i Rijâl-i ghayb.*

(897) *Faḍîlat-nâma.*

(898) *Faqr-nâma*, by Wîrânî-Dede.

(899) *Fayḍ-nâma*, by the same.

(900) *Ganj-nâma*, by Rafî'î.

(901) *Ḥaqîqat-nâma*, by Shaykh Ṣafî.

(902) *Hidâyat-nâma*, by Firishta-zâda.

(903) *Ḥikmatu'l-asrâr.*

(904) *'Ishq-nâma*, by Firishta-zâda.

(905) *Kâshifu'l-asrâr wa Dâfi'u'l-ashrâr*, by Isḥâq-Effendi.

(906) *Maqâmât-i Aqṭâb.*

(907) *Maqâmât-i Awliyâ*, by Muḥammad b. Ḥamza.

(908) *Miftâḥ-i ḥurûf-i Jâwîdân wa Kutub-i Ḥurûfiyya.*

(909) *Ash'âr-i Miṣrî.*

(910) *R. Mithâlî.*

(911) *Ash'âr-i Muḥyî'd-dîn Abdâl.*

(912) *Dîwân-i Nasîmî* (Turk. and Persian).

(913) *Pand-nâma'i Ḍa'îfî.*

(914) *Dilu Dânâ*, by Shaykh Ibrâhîm Effendi al-Ughlânî Aqserâ'î.

(915) *Kayfiyyat-i Khilqat.*

(916) *Nuqṭatu'l-Bayân.*

(917) *Yedi Dâ'ira.*

(918) *Sa'âdat-nâma.*

(919) *R. Ṣalâḥî Effendi.*

(920) *Sharḥ-i Jâwîdân* by Ḥâjî Effendi.

(921) *Tuḥfa wa ash'âr-i Shuhûdî.*

(922) *Shi'ru'l-mufradât*, by Darwîsh Bâbâ Uways.

(923) *Tasfiya'i Sulûk.*

(924) *Tirâsh-nâma.*

(925) *Tuḥfa'i* Muḥammad Nasîmî.

(926) *'Uyûnu'l-hidâyat.*

(927) *Waṣiyyat-nâma.*

(928) — — by Bektâsh.

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4. Ummu'l-Kitab (No. 929)

The enigmatic work, preserved amongst the Ismailis of the Upper Oxus region, is an interesting relic of antiquity. A description and summary of it has been given by me in 1933 in the "Revue des Études Islamiques", Paris ("Notes sur l'Ummu'l-Kitab"), and the full original Persian text, with a detailed index, was published by me in 1936 in "Der Islam", vol. XXIII, pp. 1-132. The language, despite re-copying in the course of a long period by the copyists of very limited literacy, and also despite the fact that Persian is a foreign language for them, preserved many archaisms. It seems from the style of the work that it is *not* a translation from Arabic. The ascertainment of the date at which it was composed, and the place from which it comes, presents unsurmountable difficulties. It refers to about a hundred geographical and ethnic names, ranging from Barqa and Berbers in N. Africa, to Tibet, Sind and Sarandîb (Ceylon), with the only "nest" of several towns closely situated to each other being Northern Mesopotamia: Antakiya, Malaṭya, Niṣibîn. Neither the chief cities of Central Asia, nor Persia, nor Baghdad are ever mentioned.

Although it is to this day regarded by the Ismailis of the Upper Oxus as their most sacred and secret book, it surely cannot be accepted as an Ismaili work, although *undoubtedly* it is based on early Ismaili literary sources. It is in reality a *gnostic* work which contains surprisingly many Manichaean ideas. The most interesting feature is that it gives a prominent position to the early Shi'ite heresiarch, contemporary to Imam Ja'far, Abû'l-Khaṭṭâb, who was executed in Kufa in 145/762. But it is impossible to regard this book as reflecting the Khattabiyya sectarian doctrine. In fact the name of Abû'l-Khaṭṭâb which appears here seven times, is in the majority of cases given in what is called the "frame-work story", which is full of the most glaring anachronisms, and in approximately one and the same "formula",

in which he is coupled with Salmân-i Fârsî as a self-less devotee of the Imams who preached their deification. The main contents is apparently a home-made theosophical system chiefly concerned with the cosmogony and psychology, in which the unknown author borrowed from various sources what he found useful. It is however evident that the groundwork was *old* Ismaili, perhaps even Qarmatian literature of the early Yamanite type, in any case not later than the beginning of the v/xi c., judging from the fact that the author mentions in his discussions the triad of *jidd*, *fatḥ* and *khayâl*. It became obsolete in the later periods. Although, of course, the author could pick it up from some old works, it to a certain extent is corroborated by the appearance of a reference to Khazars, the Turkish people who became converted to Judaism, and formed a strong state in the Xth. c. A. D. in the steppes North of the Caspian, which disappeared in the next century.

As it is usually very difficult to get access to the old Orientalistic periodicals, except for those who live within easy reach of big libraries in Europe, I offer here the subjects of the 38 questions and answers into which the work is divided:

1. Necessity of believing in the manifestation of God in human form. - 2. Mystical implications of the formula of *Basmala* in the Coran. - 3. The person of the Creator and His attributes.- 4. Refutation of the doctrine of the transcendence of the Deity and of the impossibility of knowing its attributes.- 5. The *dîwâns*, or interspheral cosmic "palaces".- 6. Creation of the Universe.- 7. The creation of the material world and of man; the Covenant of God with mankind.- 8. The part of "pleasure" (*lidhdhat*) in the material world.- 9. Human psychical life.- 10. Freedom of will. - 11. Symbolism of the *'Ashûrâ* and of number ten. 12. The Coran (cf. also question 27).- 13. The nature of dreams. 14. Rebirth of souls (cf. also question 32). - 15. *Baytu'l-ma'mûr* (cf. also question 19).- 16. The Ark of Noah, and the symbols of the prophets.- 17. The *Mi'râj* of Muḥammad, *Dhû'l-fiqâr* of 'Alî, and the *Qâ'im*.- 18. How many thrones of God there are? 19. *Ka'ba* or *Baytu'l-ma'mûr* (cf. quest. 15).- 20. On what does the earth stand?- 21. What was the earth on which Adam fell when expelled from Paradise?- 22. The spirits which ascend from the

human heart.- 23. Sin and salvation.- 24. *Ṣirât*.- 25. *Qiyâmat*.- 26. The seven "lights" hidden in the human body.- 27. The *sûras* of the Coran (cf. q. 12). - 28. Symbolism of astronomy. - 29. Symbolism of *namâz*. - 30. On fast and other *shari'at* prescriptions.- 31. Angels of death. - 32. Rebirth of souls (cf. q. 14). 33. Which souls will be saved?- 34. Where the carnal self goes after death?- 35. Different Adams (aspects of human nature). 36. How "the head of Adam touches the sky"?- 37. Why learned people sometimes do not understand simple things?- 28. The garments of Adam.

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